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ABSTRACT

The complete reports of the research efforts on the effects of televised violence on children sponsored by the American Broadcasting Company in the past five years are presented. Ten research projects on aggression and violence are described which examined primarily the effect of television on children who were emotionally disturbed, came from broken homes, or were juvenile offenders. In addition to complete documentation on each of the studies, guidelines for viewing and programing of televised violence are given. General implications for the broadcasting industry in light of the findings of the studies are also included. Data collection instruments are appended. (HAB)

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STUDIES IN VIOLENCE AND TELEVISION

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The individual studies in this volume represent a set of coordinated, but independently pursued projects, each under the direction of its own project supervisor. In addition to the children, adolescents and young adults on whose patient participation our work is based, we are grateful for the dedicated efforts of a number of researchers who independently pursued these coordinated and cooperative studies, each carried out at different institutions under different teams.

The project supervisor for the studies involving the emotionally impaired children (Group A) was Louis Bernstein, Ph.D. The research staff, special teachers and assistant teachers who worked with Dr. Bernstein include Toby Friedman, Elaine Bernstein, Martha Ebert, Robert Bartow, Lawrence Garr, Michael Bolno, Judith Kramer, Carolyn Cozma, Allison Hoffman, Thomas Lynn, Lieselotte Feinschil, Sidney Mizrachi, Barbara Williams, Martha Mullin, Trudy Pomerantz, Priscilla Holten, and Eva Flint.

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The project supervisor for the offender studies was Edward B. Guy, M.D. The offender research team included Shiela Scott, Ph.D., Claude Harms, Ph.D., Mary Aytch, Perry Boykin, Nan Johnson and Douglas Bry, special assistant to the project director.

The project entitled "Cognitive Style and Its Relationship to Perception of Violent or Prosocial Aspects in Television Programs" was carried out under the direction of Jahet L. Hoopes, Ph.D., and Randal W. Wimberly at Bryn Mawr College.

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Finally, the work of editing all of these studies for purposes of publication in a single volume could not have been accomplished without the dedicated help of Mary Linnebur, and John Gardner and Lorraine Coffey, who assisted her in the final preparation of the tables and the re-checking of the statistical data. We are indebted also to Susan Harding and Tina Marchino for their unflagging assistance in the typing and editing of this manuscript.

Finally, it is with sadness that we acknowledge the untimely death on August 2, 1975, of our esteemed colleague, co-author and friend, Professor Samuel Polsky. His contributions, dedication to and pursuit of this work represented a major interest of his professional lifetime. Dr. Polsky's interests in children, his warmth, wisdom and keen insights shall be sorely missed by a generation of students, and his many colleagues and associates who were privileged to know and work with him.

MSH

INTRODUCTION

Research developments over the past five years have been interpreted to produce something close to a national policy concerning televised violence. U.S. Public Health Service sponsored research has contributed five recent volumes to the literature and the accompanying Surgeon General's Report.[1] This in turn was heard and reviewed by the Pastore Committee.[2] The policy that appeared to emerge from these hearings treated causality between some children's viewing and doing as sufficiently established to require remedial action.

If some viewers are adversely affected by exposure to violent television materials, then one must identify whom these viewers might be. Would they include all children, since they are more impressionable than adults? Are some children not more vulnerable, emotionally labile and susceptible than others? If this is so, then it is obvious that researchers should carefully examine the television viewing habits and responses of child populations with known emotional impairment, as well as those of youngsters who are institutionalized early in life because of broken or unstable families. Furthermore, our previous work with large numbers of violent offenders revealed a high incidence of emotional impairment and family instability, often resulting in foster care or institutionalization in early, formative years. If television indeed tends to make some children violent, then children who are predisposed to violence by developmental factors identified in known populations of violent offenders should be carefully studied.

---

[1] "Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence", Report to the Surgeon General, United States Public Health Service, from the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, January 19, 1972.

[2] United States Senate Commerce Committee: Subcommittee on Communications: Senator John O. Pastore, Chairman, Hearings in March, 1972.

To find, examine and settle upon a group of matched children whom one could warrant as "normal" was reluctantly recognized as a tempting elusion or mirage of scientific design. Even in dealing with adult personalities, where the clinician and researcher may review, study and evaluate an established track record of twenty or more years of functioning, the identification or diagnosis of "normal" behavior and personality remain elusive. In the evaluation of children, it is frequently apparent that what can be diagnosed are merely greater or lesser degrees of emotional disturbance, and that on any given day of examination a normal child can be troubled and emotionally disturbed.

If the viewing of televised violence is indeed associated with heightened behavioral violence, then it would obviously be desirable to investigate populations of known violent offenders young enough to have been raised from earliest childhood with television sets. Youthful and young adult offenders, especially those charged with crimes of violence, or those whose institutional adjustments are marked by pugnacity, may be readily documented as predisposed to violence in that their various forms of aggression have brought them into forceful conflict with the law. One need make no inferences or speculations about their aggressive or violent propensities.

By studying youthful and young adult murderers or persons convicted of aggravated assault or assault with intent to kill, one quickly gets to the center of things with reference to known, real violence. With such youthful and young adult offenders one is not talking about laboratory conditions or aggressivity as revealed on psychological tests. One is talking very specifically about actual violence in the streets. Here, our studies have specifically investigated the potential role of television as a stimulus of real-life violence, in contrast to violent play or fantasy.

From the study of known groups of youthful, violent offenders it can be determined whether media-portrayed violence generates or contributes to causality, or is implicated by association with the production of actual behavioral violence.

Many problems are inherent in this approach. One must be able to guide and assist offenders in the recall of significant aspects of their past lives, without cutting off their spontaneous associations. In research with prisoners one must assess and encourage their motivation to present a truthful picture under conditions where it is often best to keep one's mouth shut. The experienced clinician is prepared to recognize and deal with both consciously and unconsciously determined distortions in all subject-disclosed materials, and avoids taking at face value any single finding or group of findings.

The clinical data obtained in Projects III, IV and V were gathered and scrutinized with every view to minimizing the inclusion of false or inaccurate information. These investigations were carried out under the close supervision of forensic psychiatrists with many years of experience in judging the reliability of information obtained in interviews with prison inmates.

Similarly, the projects involving the emotionally vulnerable child populations (Group A and B) drew upon experienced clinicians, special teachers, their assistants and researchers who were familiar with each child in their sample population. The studies of these children, a number of whom participated for the full five years, built upon extensive evaluations and long-term familiarity with each child's performance and functioning before, during and after his exposure to the television stimuli.

The progress and findings of these studies have been previously described in extensive annual reports to the American Broadcasting Company. In our recent pre-publication work of re-checking all of the figures, data and tables of the past five years of work, we encountered some small discrepancies in arithmetic in Project I, and re-ran all of the data by computer. While there are some minor differences as a result of these corrections in several of the sub-test figures, the overall findings and conclusions in Project I are essentially similar to those which were presented in our 1972 Annual Report.

A portion of the cartoon study in Project II, however, posed a major problem. In going back to re-check the arithmetic and statistics of the cartoon test measurements for the Group A children in 1971, despite an extensive search through several offices including the effects of Professor Polsky, the psychological test data could simply not be located for the Group A sample in Project II.

As sometimes happens in storing the base data of multiple projects pursued over a five year period, something gets lost. Nevertheless, we had the psychological test data on the Group B children, and all of the clinical data and observations on both Groups A and B. Without checking the figures, Project II could not be published in its earlier form. The choice then presented itself as to whether to omit Project II entirely, or to re-run the intact base data for the broken home sample (Group B) and present those findings in addition to the original clinical data in modification of the earlier annual report. Since the extensive clinical data remained intact on all of the children, and the computer run of the test data for the broken home sample produced some interesting findings, it was decided to include the modified Project II along with the remaining studies.

PROJECT I:

RESPONSES OF EMOTIONALLY VULNERABLE CHILDREN TO TELEVISION

Introduction

It is almost superfluous to point to the importance of formal research in exploring the area of media portrayal of violence, and particularly the relatively new role of television in that portrayal. It is significant that, "national concern over certain kinds and amounts of mass media portrayal of violence has reached the levels of congressional (e.g., Senator Pastore's Sub-Committee on Communications[1] and the Senate Committee on the Judiciary[2]) and Presidential[3] inquiry".[4]

The assimilation of television into a child's experiences has been a topic of considerable concern and controversy for some years.

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[1] United States Senate Commerce Committee: Sub-Committee on Communications: Senator John O. Pastore, Chairman, Hearings in March, 1972, based on "Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence", Report To the Surgeon General, United States Public Health Service, from the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, January 19, 1972.

[2] U.S. Senate: "Television and Juvenile Delinquency", Report of the Committee on the Judiciary, Report no. 1466, 84th Congress, First Session, January, 1956. Government Printing Office, 1956.

[3] National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower, Chairman: "Commission Statement on Violence in Television Entertainment Programs, September, 1969". U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969.

[4] Heller, M.S., and Polsky, S. "Television Violence, Guidelines for Evaluation", Archives of General Psychiatry, 24:279-285: March, 1971.

This has been intensely augmented during the past few years. There have been reports that, on the one hand, television promotes passivity in children by virtue of their fixation on the television box feeding them entertainment. On the other hand, there have been reports that television encourages anti-social aggressive behavior. Speculation about children's reactions to television have covered the entire spectrum of emotional responsiveness: children are believed to have experiences ranging from the extreme of agitation and depression to the other extreme of affectlessness and robot-like depersonalization. Increasingly in the past few years, this general concern about television has been more specifically focused on violence and aggression. This has paralleled the growing preoccupation with the manifestations of violence in the national scene and its significance.

Some Early Studies

Historically, television is the latest stage in a progression that started with the dime novels, movies, the funnies, and comic books. The Payne Fund Studies (Peterson, Thurstone)[5] were an early examination of one stage in the progression and reflected some of the complexity of the interaction between children and horror movies, which was a predominant social concern of the nineteen thirties.

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[5] Peterson, R.C., and Thurstone, L.L. "Motion Pictures and the Social Studies of Children", New York, MacMillan, 1933.

Maccoby,[6] in her article on "Effects of the Mass Media" almost a decade ago succinctly states some issues. She noted that mass media (and television) can influence children in indirect and direct effects. Indirect effects essentially pertain to the tendency for television to pre-empt and to cut into the time of other activities, whether or not these other activities are judged on a higher or lower level than television. Even earlier, Himmelweit[7] and others found the principle of "Functional Similarity"; activities that will be given up most readily in favor of television are those that satisfy the same needs but less effectively (movies, comics).

The more direct effects of television may be either immediate or long range. Maccoby found the immediate effects to include the emotional reactions of the child while he is viewing television, and the immediately ensuing repercussions of these in defensive reactions, fatigue, excitement, daydreams, etc.

When broader questions were raised and researchers addressed themselves to the problem of causation, a different atmosphere prevailed. Even the briefest review of the literature, as in this introduction, is enough to indicate much disagreement, conflicting opinion and variant research findings with respect to the question of the effect of television portrayed violence upon viewers. "Answers to it, based both on simple opinion and on research which reflects varying degrees of sophistication and appreciation of the complexity of the phenomenon, have ranged from confident statements that the medium's influence is uniformly pernicious to equally glib assertions that merely watching entertainment fare can do little to shape children's social behavior."[8]

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[6] Maccoby, E. "Effects of the Mass Media", in Hoffman and Hoffman (ed.) Review of Child Development Research, 1964, Russel Sage Foundation, pp. 323-349.

[7] Himmelweit, H.T., Oppenheim, A.M. and Vince, T., Television and the Child, Oxford University Press, London, 1958.

Klapper[9] undertook an extensive review of research on the effects of mass-media directed violence on children, with special reference to television. He addressed himself to a number of reports that aggressive, maladjusted or delinquent behavior was present among children who viewed television, and he indicated that surveys have come up with these conclusions in reference to practically every mass medium. Secondly, he pointed to the connection of preferences between one medium and another: "The child who eschews violence on the television set is not likely to seek it in the neighborhood movie." Essentially, he called attention to the fallacy of propounding spurious cause and effect relationships.

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[8] Liebert, Robert M. "Television and Social Learning" (Overview), Television and Social Behavior, Vol. 2, A Technical Report to the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1972.

[9] Klapper, J.T. "The Effects of Mass-Media Depicted Violence: A Review of Research Findings", presented at American Orthopsychiatric Association, 1968.

Klapper noted that it was "confirmed in survey after survey, that overt acts of violence are no more common among groups of children who are heavy consumers of media violence than they are among groups who are light users or abstainers". Various surveys found that personality characteristics correlated with a high absorption of media violence were attributable to such factors as conflict with parents, lack of satisfactory peer relations, and a reluctance to accept personal responsibility for wrong doing. Klapper pointed out that these are not necessarily predispositions to violence, but rather manifestations of disturbances in interpersonal and social relationships. He also noted that some studies suggested that children of this kind, far from actually indulging in anti-social behavior, used television characters and material as the ground work for fantasies.

Klapper took the position that "The function served for these children by this type of media material involves, first, an escape from their own feelings of social impotence, and, secondly, the provision of a vicarious feeling of ability to control their interpersonal environment." The supposed reinforcement or increment that television presumably provides toward making a child perform certain acts "is thus not particularly likely to manifest itself in commissions of violent acts, as rather in further withdrawal into the fantasy world they already seek in the media."

Reviewing the body of survey research, Klapper's opinion was that mass-media depicted violence was not a primary determinant in causing violent or aggressive behavior, or indeed in producing any other behavioral tendency. He felt, however, that depictions of crime and violence may serve special psychological functions for children who are already socially maladjusted.

Hartley[10] undertook to review experiments and formal research done to assess the effect of television-depicted violence on children. For the most part, these studies had a basic design that allowed for rather limited variations. The basic design was to have one group of children (experimental subjects) view a film or exhibit having "aggression" content, while another group (control subjects) did not. The two groups were paired for presumably important variables that might affect their reactions (such as intelligence, socio-economic levels, age and sex). The two groups were then exposed to a play situation designed to measure the child's degree of aggressivity. The degree of "aggression" evident in this limited play behavior of the two groups was thereafter compared. In some studies "pre" and "post" differences were available, and the comparisons bear on behavior before and after viewing the stimulus material. Some of the studies performed in this manner reported that children exposed to the aggressive or violently toned television films (serving as a stimulus) were induced to behave more aggressively in a play-time situation.

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[10] Hartley, R.L. "The Impact of Viewing Aggression: Studies and Problems of Extrapolation". New York, Columbia Broadcasting System, Office of Social Research, 1964.

Hartley had the following observations on such experiments:

1. The aggression in the play situation invariably consisted of hitting, kicking or attacking a doll or other toy, or the hostile manipulation of some implement. The toy, implement or doll was designed for this purpose, and there was a strong "stimulus-pull" to invite attack or manipulation.
2. The heightened aggression was observed very soon (a few minutes) after exposure to the stimulus material, and no attempt was made to determine the duration of the effect.
3. It cannot be assumed that play behavior is an accurate estimate of non-play behavior. Due to the permissiveness and at least partial suspension of super-ego functions during play, drives and impulses come out that would not ordinarily be visible.
4. The context in which the child saw the film was unlike a normal viewing situation. No parents or siblings were present; the child

received an individual showing in order to minimize outside influences.

5. The experiments included no sanctions; no adult during the experiment indicated that the aggressive behavior was in any way disapproved or might entail unpleasant consequences. If anything, the child was confronted by an adult - a model - who tacitly encouraged the youngster to play with the doll or whatever object was involved, again influencing the set of the child.

On the basis of the preceding criticisms, as well as others, Hartley was led to conclude that, "The investigators who have linked the laboratory results with real-life events, have done so by the device of using the same generalized label - e.g., 'aggression', 'violence', 'punitiveness' - to bracket quite different behavioral referents." The connection between laboratory aggression and the aggression which is a societal problem remained quite loose and tenuous.

Terms and Methodologies

In the light of the reviews by Klapper, Hartley and others, it is evident that crucial issues cannot be clarified until basic questions concerning the definitions of certain loaded concepts and words (aggression, violence) are explicated. Moreover, substantive areas must be further explored, and methodological problems resolved. Now that television studies have been pursued for a number of years, previous tendencies to state the issues in terms of simplistic cause and effect relationships have been met with skepticism by serious students of communications and mass media. The tendency to perceive interrelationships between television and aggression in a global, unvarying and undifferentiated, one-dimensional framework has, with the accumulation of experience, given way to some appreciation of the complexities involved in this issue.

Aggression

Aggression, both as an everyday phenomenon in all walks of life, and as a conceptual abstraction, can be so encompassing that it is necessary to break it down into operational terms. To psychologists working in the province of learning theory, and establishing personality correlates of how children learn to behave, the complex ramifications of aggression have been the subject of considerable clinical and experimental work.

One important aspect of this work is concerned with the degree of consistency of aggression in children. The term, "Stimulus Generalizations", is a concept which denotes the correlation between similar aggressive responses in such different situations as the classroom, playground or home (the child may or may not be aggressive in varying situations). The term "Response Equivalence" refers to the relationship of differing aggressive responses to similar situations (e.g., physical aggression, verbal aggression, displacement, etc.).

Aggression can be further subdivided into instrumental aggression, which is directed toward the achievement of non-hostile goals, and hostile aggression, or aggressive drive, for which the goal response is injury to some object. As an instrumental act, aggressive behavior is one of a number of alternatives that a child may utilize to satisfy his needs or obtain his goal.

If a child wants a toy that belongs to another younster, he can either arrange a swap, ask for adult help in getting the toy, have a tantrum, or forcibly take the toy. The goal in an example of instrumental aggression is the toy rather than primarily hurting a peer. If the child persists in hitting his peer regardless of the fate of the toy, or hurts because he wants to, the behavior is indicative of the expression of aggressive drive or hostile aggression as compared to instrumental aggression.

Studies concerned with aggressive manifestations in children have failed to differentiate adequately between non-hostile or instrumental aggressive acts, and hostile or aggressive drive instigated behavior, according to Feshbach.[11] Thus, one must establish whether a child really has as his goal the inflicting of painful and destructive consequences on a person (aggressive drive), or whether the aggressive behavior is the more malleable instrumental aggression that is only one alternative toward satisfying other needs.

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[11] Feshbach, S. and Singer, R. Television and Aggression, Jossey-Poss, Inc., San Francisco, 1971.

Feshbach also emphasizes the complex relationships that the emotions of anger or rage have to aggressive drive. He regards anger as an energizer of ongoing behavior, and as an explosive response rather than as a noxious state. Even if there was a noxious component to the affective reaction of anger, he feels a distinction should be maintained between this aspect of anger-related drive, and the motivated infliction of pain or injury. He thinks a child can learn to reduce anger through methods other than the inflicting of injury. Anger and rage may have drive properties, and may be closely related to aggressive drive; however, he feels that such a concept as aggressive drive is rooted in antecedents other than only anger and rage. Similar problems present themselves in differentiating what is normal self-assertiveness in a child from aggressive behavior.

Feshbach reported unusual findings in his study of the effects of television and manifestation of aggressiveness. The subjects were 665 boys in seven different institutional settings, divided between three private schools and four boys' homes. The homes were residential settings for boys from a low socio-economic background whose families were unable to care for them. The students at the private schools were from mainly middle or upper class backgrounds. The boys ranged in age from ten to seventeen. The subjects were randomly assigned within each institution to a television schedule containing predominantely aggressive programs. The duration of the study was six weeks. Feshbach wanted to assess the influence of differential exposure to aggressive stimuli on aggressive attitudes and behavior. This assessment was done through daily behavior ratings submitted for each boy by his immediate supervisor, and through other psychological scales and questionnaires.

Feshbach found, by a comparison of behavior ratings, that the frequency of verbal aggression and physical aggression, whether directed toward peer or authority figures, was consistently higher in the control group exposed to the non-aggressive programs as compared to the experimental group exposed to the aggressive programs. Further, the difference between the control and experimental group in aggressive behavior directed toward peers was greatest in boys who were initially aggressive, especially boys who were above the average on the questionnaire measures of hostility.

Though aware of the limitations imposed by his particular sample, Feshbach concluded that, "The experimental findings provide some evidence suggesting that exposure to aggressive content in television serves to reduce or control the expression of aggression." Speculating on a possible interpretation of the data, he utilized the concept of "cognitive support". Aggressive television content, at least under certain conditions, can bind and regulate the strong aggressive tendencies of children by providing acceptable outlets through cognitive devices (verbal and visual). This is suggestive of the view of television as a cathartic agent. The message of fantasy conveyed by fictionalized aggressive content on television is perceived as such by the children, Feshbach believes, and is less potent in influencing their aggression than the message of reality derived from actual experiences in their environment.

Vulnerability: Knowing the Child

Are there children fro whom television portrayed violence has an adverse effect? Are some children more likely than others to be vulnerable to media violence? Who might such children be? In order to focus most quickly upon the question of vulnerability, we began our research by proceeding directly to the study of two representative populations of children who should be regarded as most vulnerable to adverse behavioral effects attributable to televised violence: (A) emotionally impaired youngsters and (B) children from broken homes.

Children with emotional impairment, but of normal intellectual endowment and educable in a special school, provided the study with reasonably qualitative samples of a juvenile psychiatric population (Group A). In view of asserted claims that televised violence may be especially harmful to children from broken homes, we have studied a representative population of such children, a second group of psychiatrically normal youngsters, who have been deprived of ongoing parental ties (Group B). These children, with normal intellectual endowment, have been available for round-the-clock behavioral observation in a boarding home. Aside from the known variables of their greater emotional control, and attendance in neighboring public schools, they are otherwise comparable to Group A, in age, race and general background characteristics.

In addition to studying the two groups of youngsters hypothesized as highly vulnerable to any adverse effects of the televised portrayal of violence, we undertook as well to study a known violent population, young prisoners with an impressive record of crimes of violence and aggressiveness (Group C).

As has been the case in a number of university and graduate school research programs, we have gotten away from older forms of studies involving several hundreds, and sometimes thousands, of subjects. Such methodologies, once popular to the point of pervasiveness in thesis studies, have proven less replicable and less reliable than intensive smaller samples involving the thorough and intimate study of each subject.

In order to begin to understand the effect of television upon the child, one msut know the child - not any child, but the child being studied. The present studies have accordingly used samples of such size that each of the children could be studied extensively and in depth.

A windfall advantage in the selection of each of our research populations has been the wealth of pre-existing records of pertinent psychological, medical, educational, developmental background and ongoing behavioral data. These materials, available to the researchers on each of the subjects, have been utilized as long-term evaluation base lines. In other words, we knew a good deal about each of the research subjects to start with, extending over a considerable period of time up to and including the initiation of the research studies.

We have had the further benefit of independent diagnostic studies and tests from private psychiatrists, school psychologists and teachers on all of the youngsters included in the emotionally impaired population (Group A), re-evaluated in each instance by our own research staff. Such materials have been of inestimable value in studying a representative, emotionally impaired, non-defective, child psychiatric population.

The children in Group B, from broken homes, have had similar psychological studies and clinical evaluations which failed to reveal significant degrees of emotional impairment, or manifest psychiatric problems. On each of these youngsters we were provided with ongoing reports from teachers, supervisors, counselors, and house parents with respect to their ongoing day-to-day behavior.

In Group C, the prison population, our knowledge of each inmate was markedly enhanced by the reports of correctional officers, institutional psychologists, psychiatrists and mental health workers, whose cooperation markedly benefited and enhanced our knowledge of each research subject.

METHODOLOGY

Subjects:

Group A (Emotionally Impaired)

In the first year of the study, Group A (emotionally impaired) consisted of 30 children* attending a private, non-profit day school for emotionally troubled and learning-disordered youngsters. None of the children in this study were mentally retarded. The age range was from ten to fiftenn. There were twenty-five boys and five girls in the sample. Sevemteen of the children were white, and thirteen were black. These children were considered to have average intellectual potential, although they manifested learning disabilities and difficulties in school achievement as a function of both their personality problems and unfavorable environmental conditions.

The group could essentially be considered a psychiatric population, or a population of disturbed children. The referral of these youngsters, usually from a public school source, to a private, non-profit special school, generally reflected an accurate judgement that these children needed special assistance. The one common symptom of all these children was a learning disability, reflected in poor school achievement despite their basic average intellectual endowment. This common symptom was embedded in a complex of other emotional and behavioral problems, manifested in such actions as pre-delinquent and delinquent behavior, conflicts with peers and authority, hyperactivity, withdrawal, poor control of aggression, immature and regressive functioning, and a general clinical picture of maladaptiveness.

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* All thirty children were studied clinically, but only those who took the complete battery of various tests were included for tests and measurements data computations.

Their socio-economic background was either lower middle class or working class. Their families tended to be psychologically unstable in that they were known to other agencies and clinics for problems other than those posed by the particular child at the school. In effect, these children came from backgrounds that would approximate in severity the degree of disorganization attached to the connotation of the multiple-problem family.

Group B (Children of Broken Homes)

This group consisted of twenty* boys living in an institution charitably maintained by the Roman Catholic Church for dependent and neglected homeless boys up to the age of eighteen. The boys in this institution might best be characterized under the rubric of "normally deprived". They came from broken homes where parents were either unable or unfit to care for them. Though some of the boys showed psychological scars from the untoward experiences of their home life, they were not a psychiatric population of disturbed children in the sense of those in Group A. The youngsters in the institution were intrinsically more intact; aside from their fate of having broken homes, they evinced no need for institutional or special care.

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* All twenty children were studied clinically, but only those who took the complete battery of various tests were included for tests and measurements data computations.

The age range of the boys used in this study extended from ten through fifteen. The children were considered to have basically at least average intellectual endowment, though some of these children, too, had learning disabilities and problems in academic achievement, secondary to their early deprivation.

There were sixteen white boys, one black boy and three Puerto Rican boys. It is to be noted that these twenty boys attended classes on the grounds of the institution, as well as living there. This afforded a more comprehensive perspective of their total life and corresponded to the residential setting utilized in Feshbach's[12] work.

Viewing Conditions:

The stimuli in this study consisted of filmed television programs depicting varying degrees of violence. Conditions were arranged so that the children in both Groups A and B would view the television programs in a school or class setting that would approximate as closely as possible average home viewing situations. Toward this end, as informal atmosphere was maintained. The children, from all appearances, did not regard themselves as subjects for a psychological study, though they were aware that there was some purpose in showing the television films inasmuch as they had to participate in discussions and various psychological measures.

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[12] Feshbach, S., op. cit.

With two exceptions in Group A (emotionally impaired), the children looked forward with anticipation to the viewing time, and wanted to stay in the room until the end of the session. The children sat in a semi-circle around the viewing screen, and were free to move about as they might at home. An enclosure was constructed to house the rear view film projector in such a manner as to simulate a typical home television console, in a representative children's playroom setting.

The television materials were shown along with the commercials. It was felt that the commercials were part of the children's normal experience of watching television, and that deleting the commercials would create an artifact in this study.

There were a number of adults observing the children during each viewing, including project personnel, the children's teachers, and assistants who were present when their respective classes had a television program, and who assisted in the discussion interrogation and testing phase after the television materials were shown.

The Nature of the Stimuli (Television Programs):

Complete television programs were used in this study. Representative television materials were made available by the American Broadcasting Company on 16 mm film. Actual television fare was used in order that the content would be representative of what children could and would tune to on their sets at home.

Project personnel, teachers, and staff collaborated in evaluating each program according to the degree of aggression and violence. A variety of criteria was used, including those formulated by Heller and Polsky.[13] The television materials were divided according to their degree of violence into three categories: minimal, moderate or maximum. The minimal group was essentially bland, and included episodes from such series as The Flying Nun. The maximal group contained representative fare from such series as F.B.I., Combat and Felony Squad.*

Each child in the study saw approximately fifteen television programs. These fifteen programs were composed of five minimal intensity progmas, five moderate intensity programs and five maximal intensity programs. Utilizing this procedure gave the research team an opportunity to determine any differential reaction that might be associated with the intensity of violence judged to be depicted in the picture.

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[13] Heller, M. and Polsky, S., "Television Violence: Guidelines for Evaluation". op. cit.

* See Appendix for test film list.

MEASURES

A number of measures and scales dealing with personality variables relevant to the study of aggression were administered at the beginning and at the end of the sixteen week experimental period. These are referred to as the Pre - Post Measures. In addition, behavior rating forms and other measures were administered to each child after the termination of each television program in order to evaluate his reaction to the particular program. These we have called the Individual Program Measures. The Pre-Post Measures and Individual Program Measures constitute the formal psychological assessment in contrast to the clinical, and staff observational data and reports. The various measures are described below, and reproduced in Appendix A.

PRE-POST MEASURES: (Before and After the Entire Project)

Bailyn Questionnaire:

In "Mass Media and Children", Bailyn[14] investigated the television viewing habits of a group of normal children and the influences of the mass media on their thought processes. From her study, there emerged findings that touched not only on the narrow definition of formal characteristics of thinking, but on personality correlates and cognitive style seen in her subjects. She adopted a broad view of the interrelationships between television and children; she looked at the whole child and what part television played in his life.

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[14] Bailyn, L., "Mass Media and Children", Psychological Monographs, 1959.

Sitation Test: (Feshbach Lieberman)

The basic form of the Situation Test had been independently utilized by Feshbach[15] and by Lieberman[16] in their respective studies on aggression, though the specific content of the various situations differed in each of their studies. The Situation Test, as we utilized it, consisted of one-sentence descriptions of situations in which one child's reasonable emotional reaction would be to feel wronged by another child. The subject was asked to judge whether each of several possible alternatives for the offended child would be acceptable to him or not as a basis for action. Thus, in one example ("A boy grabs something good that you are carrying"), alternatives were avoidance ("Do nothing"), verbal aggression ("Give the boy a piece of your mind"), covert aggression ("Hope something bad happens to him"), direct physical aggression (Hit him"), or severe aggression ("Hit him with a rock or something hard").

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[15] Feshbach, S., op. cit.

[16] Lieberman Research Associates: 1971 Report to A.B.C. on status of research.

The five alternatives culled from each situation and ultimately measured were as follows:

1. Avoidance
2. Verbal Aggression
3. Covert Aggression
4. Direct Aggression
5. Severe Aggression

Sears Aggression Scales:

Sears[17] devised a set of measures applicable to children. These scales were composed of items in the form of declarative sentences with which the child could express his agreement or disagreement on a five point scale ranging from "strongly agree" through "not sure" to "strongly disagree". The content of each item was designed to express one type of modality of aggression (or its rejection).

The development of the aggression scales was part of a comprehensive follow-up of five year old children whose early socialization experiences were described in "patterns of Child Rearing", (Sears, Maccoby, Levin 1957). At the time of the follow-up, the ages of the children fell into the range encompassed by this project though weighted for the years eleven through thirteen.

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[17] Sears, R.R., Relation of Early Socialization Experience to Aggression in Early Childhood: Journal of Abnormal, Social Psychology, 1961, Vol. 63, #3, pp. 466-493.

Five scales were devised. They are as follows:

1. Aggression anxiety

This scale measured feelings of fear, discomfort and dislike of aggression. The aggressive stimulus to the arousal of such feelings was placed, in some items, in the person himself ("It upsets me to think some thoughtless word or crack of mine might hurt someone's feelings"), and sometimes outside the self ("It makes me uncomfortable to see two of my friends fighting"). These external stimulus conditions ranged from personal or social, as in the last example, to relatively impersonal or symbolic external events ("If someone gets hurt in an auto accident, I usually try to get a good view of what happened"). The signs of the anxiety, in response to aggressive stimulation, included references to avoidance behavior, somatic symptoms, guilty feelings, expectations of injury or trouble, and the use of descriptive words indicative of strong negative feelings ("vicious crimes").

2. Projected aggression

This scale measured the tendency to attribute aggression to sources outside the self. The items included a range of objects of hostility, including the self. The agents of aggression ranged from specific ("Big dogs are likely to be dangerous") to very general (Sometimes I feel that there are so many bad people in the world that even my own town is about as dangerous to live in as a real jungle"). The agents to whom aggression was attributed included people, animals, and natural forces. About half the items involved aggression toward the self from other sources, and the other half reflected aggression toward other objects. Of those which reflected aggression toward the self, some involved derogation, and some represented overt aggression.

3. Self-aggression

All items referred to injury or punishment to the self. Two described impulses toward suicide, two related to self-punishment from other sources than the self, and one referred to accidents to the self.

4. Prosocial aggression

The dimensions represented by this scale and the next one were first described by Johnson (1951) in her study of doll play aggression in 5 and 8 year old children. Prosocial aggression is aggression used in a socially approved way for purposes that are acceptable to the moral standards of the group. The itmes referred to law enforcement, strictness of control, punishment for rule breaking, and insistence on appropriate rules about aggression ("When a person has broken an important rule, he should definitely be punished for it").

A high score on this scale is a positively aggressive score, but the form of aggression is in favor of socially acceptable controls and disciplines. In its extreme form, prosocial aggression probably represents moral righteousness. However, a low score could be the product of either one of two characteristics in the person: a low level of aggressive reactivity, or a tendency to be aggressive in unacceptable ways, with resistance to authority or the rules of the group. Four of the eight items that composed the scale would be influenced by this rejection of authority, and four would not be. In the absence of other information, then, a low score on this scale cannot be clearly interpreted. A high score does clearly mean a high aggressiveness of this socially accepted sort.

5. Antisocial aggression

This dimension contrasts with the previous one in the sense that the aggressions referred to here are ones that are normally unacceptable socially in the formal pattern of our culture. Some items included a reference to the positive desirability of powerful aggressive motivation, others to the acceptability of ordinarily disapproved forms of aggression, and still others to the naturalness of aggression as a form of social interaction ("Sometimes an actual fight is the only way to settle an argument").

In terms of our contemporary middle class American culture, antisocial aggression represents a much lower level of socialization than does prosocial aggression. A high score may be interpreted as indicating a strongly aggressive person without social concern. A low score may describe a person without much aggressive reactivity, or one whose aggression takes other forms, such as the prosocial.

Buss-Durkee Inventory:

All the aggression-hostility inventories reviewed previously have been omnibus instruments. They tap a variety of hostile attitudes and aggressive behavior and combine all of these into a single score. The unstated assumption made in using a single summary score is that hostile-aggressive behaviors do not need to be divided into subclasses. Thus a suspicious, nonassalutive person might receive the same score as a nonsuspicious, assaultive person.

In constructing the Buss-Durkee inventory, the alternate assumption was made: it is necessary and useful to divide hostile-aggressive behavior. Initially the subclasses used in the Buss, Durkee and Baer[18] study were used, but these were elaborated further into the following:

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[18] Buss, A.H., Durkee, A., and Baer, M., "Measurement of Hostility in a Clinical Situation", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology; 5:84-86: 1956.

1. Assault - physical violence against others. This includes getting into fights with others but not destroying objects.

2. Indirect aggression - both roundabout and undirected aggression. Roundabout behavior, like malicious gossip or practical jokes, is indirect in the sense that the hated person is not attacked directly, but by devious means. Undirected aggression, such as temper tantrums and slamming doors, consists of a discharge of negative affect against no one in particular.

3. Irritability - a readiness to explode at the slightest provocation. This includes quick temper, grouchiness, exasperation, and rudeness.

4. Negativism - oppositional behavior, usually directed against authority. This involves a refusal to cooperate that may vary from passive noncompliance to open rebellion against rule or conventions.

5. Resentment - jealosy and hatred of others. This refers to a feeling of anger at the world over real or fancied mistreatment.

6. Suspicion - projection of hostility onto others. This varies from merely being distrustful and wary of people to beliefs that others are being derogatory or are planning harm.

7. Verbal aggression - negative affect expressed in both the style and content of speech. Style includes arguing, shouting and screaming;

content includes threats, curses, and being overcritical.

This classification includes two kinds of hostility (resentment and suspicion) and five kinds of aggression (assault, indirect aggression, irritability, negativism, and verbal). A guilt category was added because of interest in observing the relationship of the inhibiting influence of guilt to the expressions of behavior that are often inhibited. Guilt was defined in terms of feelings of being bad, having done wrong, and suffering pangs of conscience.

Item Writing Techniques

A pool of items was written and supplemented with other materials borrowed from previous inventories. Items were worded so as to minimize defensiveness in responding. It has been established that social desirability accounts for much of the variance of a normal person's responses to inventories. In attempting to facilitate respondants' admitting socially undesirable behavior, three item-writing techniques were employed:

The first assumes that the socially undesirable state already exists and asks how it is expressed: "When I really lose my temper, I am capable of slapping someone", "When I get mad, I say nasty things". In these items the loss of temper is assumed and the subject is asked only whether he expresses it. This procedure emphasizes a report of behavior and tends to minimize the value judgements associated with hostility.

The second provides justification for the occurence of aggression: "Whoever insults me or my family is asking for a fight", "People who continually pester you are asking for a punch in the nose". "Like most sensitive people, I am easily annoyed by the bad manners of others". When the item provides a rationale for aggression, the subject's defensive and guilt reactions are reduced, and he does not necessarily answer in the direction of social desirability.

The third uses idioms: "If somebody hits me first, I let him have it", "When I am mad at someone, I will give him the silent treatment". Idioms have a high frequency of usage in everyday life, and these phrases are typically used by subjects to describe their own behavior and feelings to others. Therefore, when such phrases apply, they are more readily accepted and admitted.

INDIVIDUAL PROGRAM MEASURES:

(Following each television viewing session)

Behavior Rating Scale:

The Behavior Rating Scale used in this study is a modification of the instrument used by Feshbach[19] in previous research upon the effect of aggression in television programs upon children (1967).

This scale consists of twenty-six items, nineteen of which relate to aggressivity. The rating and recording of aggressive attitudes and acts was the joint responsibility of the teacher and assistant, who were careful in observing the child's post-viewing conduct. The rating was made by the teacher and assistant following each television program. They then collaborated in presenting their joint opinion of each youngster in their class on each of the scale items. These scales were returned to the project director before the next television program was presented to the class, which followed after the interval of one week. Thus, the teacher and assistant had one week in which to observe the child and form their immediate and follow-up impressions.

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[19] Feshbach, S. op. cit.

Separate scores were derived for aggression directed toward peers and aggression directed toward authority. The degree of aggression was judged either mild or strong. In the original use of this scale by Geshbach,[20] each type of aggressive act was also rated as provoked or unprovoked. It was found in this present study that the use of the provoked-unprovoked category was untenable inasmuch as it became very difficult to explore the origins of many of the incidents that occurred at the school, and to trace whose aggression preceded whose.

Essentially, the Behavior Rating Scale provides a measure that reflects the teacher's perception of the student's conduct and attitudes following the stimulus television programs.

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[20] Feshbach, S. op. cit.

Reaction Test:

This is one of the tests that Lieberman[21] and his associates had found to yield meaningful pre-post increases in aggression as a function of exposure to violent television films. Lieberman had identified this test as "What Do You Feel Like Doing Right New?" For our purposes, we have labelled it the Reactions Test.

Immediately after each television film, the children were given a sheet of paper that listed thirteen manifestations of behavior. They were asked to indicate the extent to which they felt like doing each particular item of behavior at the particular moment they were tested. The degrees were "Very Much", "Maybe", and "Not at all". Six of these thirteen examples were either aggressive acts or inner feelings of anger, such as "Push someone", or "Hope something bad happens to someone". The remaining seven examples were non-aggressive acts.

Preference Rating:[22] (Program Report #I)

This is an expansion of a form originally used in Feshbach's study. A Program Report was completed by the subjects immediately after watching each television program. It required a rating of their degree of liking or disliking of the program they had just seen.

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[21] Lieberman Research Associates, op. cit.

[22] Feshbach and Singer, op. cit.

Elicited Feelings:[23] (Program Report #II)

The subjects were also asked to check for each of ten adjectives the extent to which the program had a particular emotional effect on them. These adjectives, describing how the subjects felt after the program, were: good, excited, afraid, bored, annoyed, nervous, angry, sad, happy, and upset. The alternatives checked for each adjective were: not at all, a little, or very much.

Recall:[24] (Program Report #III)

In an attempt to get a more differentiated and qualitative picture of the children's thoughts revolving around the television films, the Program Report was expanded to include the following questions.

1. What was the best thing about the picture, or the part you really liked?
2. What was the worst thing about the picture, or the part you disliked?
3. When were there angry feelings or fighting?
4. Should the angry feelings or fighting have come out, or not?
5. Did the good people get enough protection against the bad people?
6. Could things that happen in this picture happen again for real?
7. If you had your way, how would you make up or end the story?
8. Was there anything funny about the picture?

Drawings:

After each television film, the subjects were asked to draw a picture of a scene of the film that meant the most to them; or that reminded them of some other experience. These drawings, through nonverbal expression, provided further information on the emotional impact of the program upon the children, and were particularly scrutinized for indications of aggression and violence. Essentially, the drawings were regarded as a projective technique, and as personally meaningful both in terms of content and in elements of either control or disorganization in the structure of the drawings.

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[23] Feshbach and Singer, op. cit.

[24] Feshbach and Singer, op. cit.

Story Writing:

The emotionally impaired children were asked to either write or dictate (tell) to project personnel all that they could remember of the television program they had just seen. This represented an additional procedure in evaluating the quality and the quantity of emotional response, as well as items especially remembered about the television program. It was also an attempt to evaluate some formal cognitive variables, such as length of story and expressiveness, as well as the personality variable of motivation to communicate.

Group Discussion:

Prior to their being introduced to the television films, the children were told by their teacher that they were going to be shown a television program. They were told that others (project personnel) would be here to see it, too. The children were asked to watch the program and listen to it. They were told that they would talk about it later.

During each viewing the children were observed by the project personnel and their own teachers for significant behavioral responses to the television materials. Particular notation was made of facial expression, posturing, laughter, giggling, imitative gesture, signs of tension, nail biting, contact with other children or adults and motor agitation. Most particular attention was paid during and immediately after the most violent scenes.

At an early point during, and again following each presentation, the youngsters were asked whether any of them had seen this particular show before. At those times when a youngster had claimed to have seen this television episode previously, the show was interrupted and the youngster was asked how it finished. Notations were made, and interpreted, of the differences between the child's remembered version and the actual show. In all instances, the children were asked how they wished the show would have finished in comparison to its actual conclusion, whether or not they saw it before.

The children were also routinely asked what they thought were the best parts of the show, and which were the worst. The child's individual conscious recall was eventually enhanced by the accumulating memories of the entire group's participation. A further test of recall was provided by having the children fill in the missing parts in a narration of the program begun by one of the youngsters, and continued by others during the group discussion period. These clinical group techniques, familiar to the teachers, and supervised by project personnel provided a series of meaningful observational materials which could be compared with the child's pre-stimulus behavior and known personality and behavioral patterns.

TEST FINDINGS

Pre-Post Measures:

Group average scores for all pre-post measures are presented in Tables I-IV.

TABLE I:

BUSS DURKEE AGGRESSION INVENTORY
Pre-Post Scores of Project I

	Group A (N=19*)		Group B (N=17*)	
	M	S.D.	M	S.D.
Assault				
Pre	6.74	1.74	5.71	1.99
Post	6.16	2.21	8.00	6.04
Indirect				
Pre	5.32	1.59	4.82	1.85
Post	4.84	1.46	7.65	13.21
Irritability				
Pre	6.31	1.78	5.53	1.85
Post	5.37	2.32	6.65	6.10
Negativism				
Pre	3.26	1.33	1.83	1.46
Post	2.74	1.12	7.18	18.24
Resentment				
Pre	4.16	1.53	3.82	1.82
Post	3.16	1.76	6.65	8.54
Suspicion				
Pre	6.10	1.07	5.29	1.49
Post	6.10	1.41	7.18	3.38
Verbal				
Pre	8.00	1.89	7.76	2.69
Post	7.68	2.13	9.35	7.93
Guilt				
Pre	5.79	2.12	5.76	1.90
Post	5.63	2.34	9.00	15.39

*Due to absences and population turnover, complete special test scores were obtained for 19 children in Group A and 17 children in Group B.

Multiple t tests were performed. Group B. suspicion scores on the Buss Durkee were found to be significantly higher at the end of the project than they were at the beginning (t + 2.038, df + 32, $P < .05$). There were no other significant differences in pre-post scores for Group A or B. There were also no significant differences pre or post between Group A and Group B.

TABLE II:

SEARS AGGRESSION SCALES
Pre-Post Group Scores

	Group A (N=19*)		Group B (N=17*)	
	M	S.D.	M	S.D.
Aggression Anxiety				
Pre	7.21	2.08	7.35	1.84
Post	6.84	2.11	9.35	10.32
Projected Aggression				
Pre	6.26	2.45	6.24	2.76
Post	6.47	2.50	10.47	12.90
Self Aggression				
Pre	2.47	1.09	2.53	1.46
Post	2.42	1.31	2.35	1.14
Prosocial Aggression				
Pre	4.32	1.42	4.35	1.57
Post	5.05	1.57	6.12	3.64
Antisocial Aggression				
Pre	5.00	2.36	5.00	1.50
Post	5.16	1.66	7.59	10.67

M=Mean S.D.=Standard Deviation

Multiple t tests were performed. There were no significant differences in pre-post scores for either Group A or Group B. There were also no significant pre-post differences between Group A and Group B.

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* See footnote, page 36.

TABLE III:

BAILYN QUESTIONNAIRE
Pre-Post Group Scores

			Group A (N=19*)		Group B (N=17*)	
			M	S.D.	M	S.D.
PROBLEMS SCORE	Self					
		Pre	10.00	3.95	7.76	3.10
		Post	10.42	2.94	9.35	6.52
	Peer					
		Pre	9.10	5.20	8.53	4.51
		Post	7.58	4.36	8.41	5.12
	Family					
		Pre	12.37	16.73	7.06	4.14
		Post	11.53	4.50	8.35	5.54
RIGIDITY SCORE	Cognitive					
		Pre	7.16	3.22	7.47	2.55
		Post	8.90	3.58	6.35	4.47

M=Mean   S.D.=Standard Deviation

Multiple t tests were performed. There were no significant differences in pre-post scores for either Group A or Group B. There were also no significant pre-post differences between Group A and Group B.

TABLE IV:

SITUATION TEST
Pre-Post Group Scores

	Group A (N=19*)		Group B (N=17*)	
	M	S.D.	M	S.D.
Avoidance				
Pre	4.90	10.76	3.12	1.23
Post	2.21	1.20	7.00	15.88
Verbal				
Pre	9.16	4.56	7.88	3.03
Post	6.74	3.96	7.18	4.66
Covert				
Pre	11.58	7.09	11.47	6.02
Post	7.90	7.86	12.35	13.28
Direct				
Pre	13.90	8.74	14.12	8.13
Post	11.58	8.89	20.06	16.56
Severe				
Pre	10.00	13.08	16.18	11.44
Post	8.42	12.14	14.18	12.42
Total Score				
Pre	49.95	25.01	53.29	23.19
Post	36.84	25.12	75.06	110.16

M=Mean   S.D.=Standard Deviation

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* See footnote, page 36

Multiple t tests were performed. There were no significant differences in pre-post scores for either Group A or Group B. There were also no significant pre-post differences between Group A and Group B.

Individual Program Measures:

Group average scores for all program measures after viewing television programs containing minimum, moderate and maximum violence are presented in Tables V - XIV.

TABLE V:

BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE (PEERS)
Group Scores After Viewing Television
Programs Containing Minimum, Moderate and Maximum Violence

	Min.	Mod.	Max.
Group A (N=19*)			
M	3.00	3.16	4.16
S.D.	2.40	2.69	3.59
Group B (N=17*)			
M	.53	.82	.59
S.D.	1.01	.81	.71

M=Mean S.D.=Standard Deviation

A two-way analysis of variance was performed on the group scores. The emotionally impaired children in Group A had significantly higher peer aggression scores than did the children in Group B (F=42.63, df=1, $p < .01$). No significant differences in behavior scores of either group occurred after viewing programs containing minimum, moderate or maximum violence (F=.69, df=2, $p > .05$). No significant interaction effect was found (F=.837, df=2, $p > .05$).

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* See footnote, page 36.

TABLE VI:

BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE (AUTHORITY)
Group Scores After Viewing Television
Programs Containing Minimum, Moderate and Maximum Violence

	Min.	Mod.	Max.
Group A (N=19*)			
M	1.58	1.79	2.05
S.D.	2.01	1.75	2.42
Group B (N=17*)			
M	0.00	0.00	0.00
S.D.	.00	.00	.00

M=Mean S.D.=Standard Deviation

A two-way analysis of variance was performed on the group scores. The emotionally impaired children in Group A had significantly higher authority aggression scores than did the children in Group B (F=38.52, df=1, $p < .01$). No significant differences in behavior scores of either group occured after viewing programs containing minimum, moderate or maximum violence (F=.221, df=2, $p > .05$). No significant interaction effect was found (F=.221, df=2, $p > .05$).

TABLE VII:

REACTIONS TEST
Group Scores After Viewing Television
Programs Containing Minimum, Moderate and Maximum Violence

	Min.	Mod.	Max.
Group A (N=19*)			
M	1.84	2.16	2.21
S.D.	2.54	2.87	2.72
Group B (N=17*)			
M	1.71	1.71	1.12
S.D.	3.10	2.52	2.12

M=Mean S.D.=Standard Deviation

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* See footnote, page 36

A two-way analysis of variance was performed. No significant differences were found between scores of Group A and Group B (F=1.189, df=1, $p > .05$). No significant differences were found in aggression scores obtained after viewing programs containing minimum, moderate or maximum violence (F=.091, df=2, p .05). No significant interaction was found (F=.30, df=2, p .05).

TABLE VIII:

PREFERENCE RATING
Group Scores After Viewing Television
Programs Containing Minimum, Moderate and Maximum Violence

	Min.	Mod.	Max.
Group A (N=19*)			
M	1.84	2.16	2.21
S.D.	2.54	2.87	2.72
Group B (N=17*)			
M	1.71	1.71	1.12
S.D.	3.10	2.52	2.12

M=Mean S.D.=Standard Deviation

A two-way analysis of variance was performed. No significant differences were found between scores of Group A and Group B (F=2.048, df=1, $p > .05$). There were no significant differences in the preferences expressed for minimally, moderately or maximally violent programs (F=.215, df=2, $p > .05$). No interaction between type of group and type of program was found (F-.215, df=2, $p > .05$).

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* See footnote, page 36.

TABLE IX:

ELICITED FEELINGS
Group Scores After Viewing Television
Programs Containing Minimum, Moderate and Maximum Violence

	Min.	Mod.	Max.
Group A (N=19*)			
M	2.26	3.53	2.05
S.D.	2.26	2.32	1.84
Group B (N=17*)			
M	3.65	3.65	3.53
S.D.	4.29	2.96	2.21

M=Mean S.D.=Standard Deviation

A two-way analysis of variance was performed. No significant differences were found between scores of Group A and Group B (F=3.561, df=1, $p > .05$). There were no significant differences in the degree of affect expressed after viewing programs containing minimum, moderate or maximum violence (F=.849, df=2, $p > .05$). No significant interaction was found (F=.690, df=2, p .05).

TABLE X:

RECALL
Group Scores After Viewing Television
Programs Containing Minimum, Moderate and Maximum Violence

	Min.	Mod.	Max.
Group A (N=19*)			
M	.79	2.00	1.63
S.D.	.71	1.11	.90
Group B (N=17*)			
M	.53	1.29	1.41
S.D.	.51	.59	.51

M=Mean S.D.=Standard Deviation

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* See footnote, page 36.

A two-way analysis of variance was performed. The emotionally impaired children in Group A had significantly greater recall of aggressive incidents than did the children in Group B (F=7.213, df=1, $p<.01$). There was also a significance in recall for the type of violence content of the program viewed (F=17.798, df=2, $p<.01$), but no significant interaction was found (F=1.12, df=2, $p>.05$).

A series of t tests was conducted to determine which type of program produced greater recall of aggressive incidents. Group A had significantly greater recall of aggressive incidents after viewing programs with moderate violence (t=3.89, df=36, $p<.01$) and maximum violence (t=3.11, df=36, $p<.01$) than after viewing programs with minimum violence. There was no significant difference between recall for moderately and maximally violent programs (t=1.10, df=36, $p>.05$).

Group B also had significantly greater recall of aggressive indicents after viewing programs with moderate violence (t=3.84, df=32, $p<.01$) and maximum violence (t=4.80, df=32, $p<.01$). There was no significant difference between recall for moderately and maximally violent programs (t=.61, df=32, $p>.05$).

TABLE XI:

DRAWINGS (ANXIETY EXPRESSED)
Group Scores After Viewing Television Programs
Containing Minimum, Moderate and Maximum Violence

	Min.	Mod.	Max.
Group A (N=19*)			
M	.42	.32	.37
S.D.	.51	.48	.50
Group B (N=17*)			
M	.29	.71	.59
S.D.	.47	.47	.51

M=Mean S.D.=Standard Deviation

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* See footnote, page 36.

A two-way analysis of variance was performed. No significant differences were found between scores of Group A and Group B ($F=2.924$, $df=1$, $p > .05$). There were no significant differences in the amount of anxiety expressed in the drawings after viewing programs containing minimum, moderate or maximum violence ($F=.981$, $df=2$, $p > .05$). No significant interaction was found ($F=2.611$, $df=2$, $p > .05$).

TABLE XII:

DRAWINGS (EXPRESSED AGGRESSION)
Group Scores After Viewing Television Programs
Containing Minimum, Moderate and Maximum Violence

	Min.	Mod.	Max.
Group A (N=19*)			
M	0.0	.74	.58
S.D.	0.0	.56	.51
Group B (N=17*)			
M	0.0	1.24	1.06
S.D.	0.0	.44	.43

M=Mean S.D.=Standard Deviation

A two-way analysis of variance was performed. The children in Group B expressed significantly more aggression in their drawings than did the emotionally impaired children in Group A ($F=17.895$, $df=1$, $p < .01$). There was a significant difference in the amount of aggression expressed in the drawings dependent on the amount of violence contained in the program viewed ($F=62.480$, $df=2$, $p < .01$).

A series of t tests was conducted to ascertain which type of program produced more aggressive drawing content. Pictures drawn by the children in Group A following exposure to both moderately ($t=5.72$, $df=32$, $p < .01$) and maximally ($t=4.98$, $df=32$, $p < .01$) violent programs contained significantly greater amounts of aggression than pictures drawn following exposure to minimally violent programs. When comparing moderate and maximum program violence content, there were no significant differences in picture aggression for Group A children (t=.91, df=32, p> .05).

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* See footnote, page 36.

A series of t tests was conducted to ascertain which type of program produced more aggressive picture content in the Group B children. Pictures drawn by the children in Group B following exposure to both moderately (t=11.65, df=32, p< .01) and maximally (t=10.18, df=32, p<.01) violent programs contained significantly greater amounts of aggression than pictures drawn following exposure to minimally violent programs. When comparing moderate and maximum program violence content there were no significant differences in picture aggression for Group B children (t=1.19, df=32, p>.05).

TABLE XIII:

STORY WRITING (GROUP A ONLY)
Group Scores for Aggressive Story Content After
Viewing Programs Containing Minimum, Moderate or
Maximum Violence

	Min.	Mod.	Max.
Group A (N=19*)			
M	.37	2.21	3.00
S.D.	.46	1.15	1.59

M=Mean S.D.=Standard Deviation

A simple analysis of variance was performed and the aggressive story content was significantly affected by the type of program viewed (F=25.271, df=2, p<.01). A multiple t test comparison indicated that programs containing a moderate amount of violence produced greater story aggression than did programs containing minimum violence (t=6.48, df=36, p<.01), and maximally violent programs also produced greater story aggression than did minimally violent programs ($\underline{t}$=6.88, df=36, $p < .01$). However, there were no significant differences in story aggression between moderately aggressive and maximally aggressive programs ($\underline{t}$=1.71, df=36, $p > .05$).

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* See footnote, page 36.

TABLE XIV:

STORY WRITING (GROUP A ONLY)
Number of Words in Story Written After Viewing
Programs Containing Minimum, Moderate or Maximum Violence

Group A (N=19*)	Min.	Mod.	Max.
M	66.38	75.42	78.26
S.D.	41.06	57.64	54.72

M=Mean S.D.=Standard Deviation

A simple analysis of variance was performed, and no significant differences were found in the number of words in a story written after viewing either minimally, moderately or maximally violent programs (F=.243, df=2, $p > .05$).

SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANT TEST FINDINGS:

Buss-Durkee Aggression Inventory:

Group B (children from broken homes) showed significantly more attitudes of suspicion after the television project than before.

Behavior Rating Scale:

The emotionally impaired children (Group A) were consistently rated as behaving more aggressively toward peers than the children in Group B. However, the statistical analysis showed the aggressivity of Group A to be unrelated to the intensity of aggressive stimulation on television.

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* See footnote, page 36.

The emotionally impaired children (Group A) were consistently rated as behaving more aggressively toward adults than those of Group B. There was no relationship between this aggressivity and the intensity of aggressive stimulation on television.

Program Reports:

There was no preference expressed for aggressive or non-aggressive programs.

The more aggressive the film, the more there was of aggressive content and preoccupations in the verbal interview responses of both Groups A and B to questions about the film. In these interviews, the emotionally impaired children (Group A), expressed significantly more aggression than did the children in Group B.

Drawings:

Television films rated moderate and maximal in aggressive content produced more aggressive drawings than did minimal aggressive films in both groups.

In this respect, the children from broken homes (Group B), drew conspicuously more aggressive pictures than those in Group A.

Composition (Story):

The emotionally impaired children (Group A) remembered and related more aggressive incidents in their stories about moderately aggressive films than about minimally aggressive films.

Group A also remembered and related more aggressive incidents in their stories about maximally aggressive films than about minimally aggressive films.

Group B did not perform this task.

Clinical Findings:

In addition to the Pre-Post and Individual Program Measures described previously, the children in both Groups A and B were clinically observed by senior staff psychologists, research personnel, their special teachers, counsellors and assistants.

In contrast to some general letting down of behavioral controls which occurs during recesses and other respites from the classroom, manifesting itself in a generalized increase in excitement, there were no essential differences in behavioral violence or assaultiveness in comparing the children's conduct after viewing violent vs. non-violent films.

There were no demonstrable changes in the children's fighting or assaultiveness after viewing violent programs, and the teachers and clinicians were unable to identify any long-term behavioral changes after the project in comparison to the subjects' behavior and conduct prior to the study.

In contrast to the absence of any television-related acting out or violent behavior, clinically it was felt that the children in Group B tended to express more negativistic or resentful attitudes after the project than before. Contrarily, the ongoing observations of the emotionally impaired children in Group A gave rise to the clinical impression that they showed, in fact, fewer tendencies toward negativism and resentful attitudes after the project than before. These differences appeared to be clinically more related to psychological, personality and background variations in the two groups than to factors primarily relating to their television viewing.

Clinical observations of the children in Group B revealed a tendency for them to utilize more projection in their aggressive fantasies, seeing more aggression in others after viewing violent television programs than before. This is clinically consistent with the Buss-Durkee test results which showed increased suspicion.

PROJECT I: CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this study can be generally reconciled within the framework of the following three points.

1. Exposure to aggressive content on television did not discernably lead to heightened aggressive behavior. There was no relationship between the intensity of television aggression and intensity of aggressive behavior.

2. Observing television programs with relatively more aggressive content produced more aggressive fantasies; television programs with relatively less aggressive content resulted in decreased aggressive fantasies, story-telling and drawings.

3. Disadvantaged and emotionally disturbed children who observed aggressive content on television tended to use the material as a cognitive support with which to bind their drives and impulses.

In examining the results of the pre-post testing and clinical evaluations, (before and after the entire project) the significant testing relationships and clinical trends indicated that certain inner states, emotions, and attitudes (negativism, resentment, suspicion, and projected aggression) were stimulated by exposure to aggressive television content.

Group B was composed of more psychologically intact children from broken homes, contrasted to the more obviously disturbed emotionally impaired children (Group A). Though not excluding certain test artifacts, it is possible that the more disturbed children did not receive the same emotional impact from the television aggression as those in Group B. It appeared clinically that, for the emotionally impaired children, the television material was more useful to them in controlling their anxiety than in releasing it. The results of the several Program Report Measures tend to reinforce this explanation.

In the Individual Program Measures, (after each television show) the fact that the emotionally impaired children (Group A) had more behavior problems in general than did Group B, without any relationship to the television programs, illustrates the essential clinical differences in these two groups.

Exposing the emotionally impaired children (Group A) to a range of television-depicted violence did not increase their behavior problems, nor did it decrease them, in the opinion of the raters. Essentially, this points toward the operation of personality and ego deficits in the emotionally impaired group of children. Their hyper-aggressiveness is seen as part of their personality, and as a compounding of inadequate ego functions, as much as it may be attributable to heightened aggressive drive.

Further indication that television depicted violence was correlated more with fantasy than with behavior was seen in the results of the Program Report Measures. In these measures, the subjects responded to questions directed toward their immediate memory of the television program, the best and worst parts of the program, and to questions which focused on the impact of aggression on recall and cognitive processes. There, the degree of impact (measured in reference to aggression) was proportional to the intensity of the television portrayal of aggression for both groups. However, the emotionally impaired children (Group A) over-reacted in this respect significantly more than did the children in Group B. This reflects both the general and differential effects of television aggression on our subjects. The emotionally impaired children received the most impact cognitively, and in terms of fantasy rather than in any actual differences in observed classroom or schoolyard behavior.

The drawings also reflected the correlation of television aggression with the expression of aggressive fantasy rather than behavior. Both moderate and maximal aggressive films produced more aggressive pictures than did minimal aggressive films for both groups. However, the children from broken homes (Group B), in drawing significantly more aggressive pictures than did the emotionally impaired children (Group A), probably reflected their greater degree of emotional stability and relatively more intact ego structures. Such youngsters with more intact ego functioning can be expected to express themselves better and in greater detail than children who are more ego impaired. Their pictorial expression and detailed versus sparse depiction would reflect these basic differences.

Similarly, the number of aggressive references in the Group A stories about the television programs was also in proportion to the intensity of the television depicted aggression.

There were no differences between the two groups of subjects in their expressed desire to commit aggressive acts (Reactions Test) and no influences attributable to television-portrayed violence in the expression of such desires.

The relationships between televised violence and actual behavioral measures (Behavioral Rating Scale were not significant, and this tested for, but negative finding, is questionable of a hypothesis that there is a causal connection between non-laboratory or real-life violent behavior and television depicted violence. In support of this, there were no changes in the Anti-Social subscale of the Sears Aggression Scales.

A frequent clinical finding was observed, however, between television portrayed violence and the production of aggressive fantasies and attitudes, particularly revealed in the children's group discussions which followed their viewing of violent shows. This finding must be differentiated from behavioral violence which is acted out against people or objects in actual life situations - just as the child who aggressively plays at copes and robbers is not to be confused with the delinquent whose real behavior is harmful. In contemplating the measure of violence in children's fairy-stories, television, play and fantasy, one is reminded of Freud's observation that the good man dreams what the bad one does - and that good children are also interested in what is bad and violent.

PROJECT II: RESPONSES TO CARTOON AND HUMAN PORTRAYED TELEVISION VIOLENCE IN EMOTIONALLY VULNERABLE CHILDREN

The conclusions from Project I supported the view that children's reactions to television-portrayed violence are complex phenomena in which the child's cognitive equipment - his intellectual perception, discrimination, judgment, reflection and analysis - play an important, if not determining, role. The children's reaction to a gamut of violent television programs indicated that their responses and experience were primarily thinking, fantasizing and evaluative phenomena which were utilized in making the proper fit or adjustment of the particular aggressive episode within the context of the children's own reality and experience.

Rather than being passive and entirely gullible spectators of the television programs, the children in Project I were found to actively utilize their personality resources to assimilate or come to grips with the phenomena of television portrayed violence. This finding is of some significance inasmuch as the particular groups of children used in this study fail into the category of those subjects who would ordinarily be considered vulnerable, suggestible, or predisposed to act out momentary impulses. These groups of children were found to use television programs as a vehicle to weigh reality, rather than as a stimulus to let down their barriers and to behave aggressively. It is in this context that television exposure served as a support to help children encounter, conceptualize and confront their own aggressive fantasies, rather than to act them out against reality.

SUBJECTS

In furthering our ongoing research, it was felt that a continued clinical follow-up of small, intensively studied groups of vulnerable children would be fruitful in further exploring the factors that play a part in the mutual interaction between the child and the television event. In addition to what the child learns from television, one needs to know more about how he learns from television. In this respect, the more in-depth approach with smaller numbers had advantages in bringing to light factors that would be lost in a descriptive, mass assessment program.

Project II continued with the children in Project I during the second year. Group A, a juvenile psychiatric population, continued with thirty emotionally disturbed children in a special school. Group B consisted of psychiatrically normal children who had been deprived of ongoing parental ties and who had been placed in a parochial boarding facility for children of broken homes. In light of the emphasis of the Surgeon General's Report on research with vulnerable populations and from our experience in Project I, it was felt that ongoing, longitudinal studies of these child populations would add meaningful clinical data regarding their use of television.

It was further deemed advisable in Project II to evaluate the effects of cartoon portrayed violence in comparison with human-acted or non-cartoon programs upon our population of emotionally vulnerable children. There is previous opinion[25] that stresses the importance of the framework in which violence is presented.

Experimental studies[26] have indicated that there is an increase in aggressive behavior by children who were previously aggressive in response to their viewing of violent cartoons. In addition, considerable concern has been expressed by television critics regarding violence in children's fare. For example, Looney[27] has stated that "By the time a child is fourteen and in the eighth grade he has watched the violent assault or destruction of nearly 18,000* human beings on television." Because of the general attack and many categorical statements which are made in criticism of children's cartoons, clinical and experimental data which would compare children's responses to cartoons with their responses to non-cartoon television programs could elucidate differences between the seemingly greater fantasy of cartoon portrayals and the apparently more realistic format of non-cartoon dramas.

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[25] Maccoby, E.E., op. cit.

[26] Stein, A. and Friedrich, L., "Television Content and Young Children's Behavior", Television and Social Behavior, vol. II, p. 202, A Technical Report to the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee, National Institute of Mental Health, Rockville, Maryland, 1972.

[27] Looney, Gerald, "The Ecology of Childhood", Action for Children's Television, p.55, Avon Books, New York, 1971.

* It is regrettable that such statements are used as a basis for even more global pronouncements in the recent literature. For example, Rothenberg has recently stated that the average American child "will have witnessed

METHODOLOGY

Project II, in undertaking to study the comparative effects of cartoon-portrayed violence, maintained and kept constant the setting, basic procedures and observational and testing methods of Project I. Group A saw sixteen cartoons, and eight violent films using human actors, and were studied clinically. Group B saw five television cartoons and five films involving real animals and human actors.

In addition to the clinical studies for Groups A and B, Group B was additionally involved in an experimental study. Pre- and Post-measures were administered at the beginning and end of the cartoon project to Group B children. Individual program measures were utilized at the time of the showing of five test cartoons and five test non-cartoon programs for these children in Group B. The children in Group A were clinically evaluated, and not given the special tests.

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some 18,000 murders and countless highly detailed incidents of robbery, arson, bombing, forgery, smuggling, beating and torture - averaging approximately one per minute in the standard television cartoon for children under the age of ten."

This appears to be an unsubstantiated elaboration of Looney's earlier blanket figures. Rothenberg then asserts "146 published papers representing 50 studies - laboratory studies, correlational field studies, and naturalistic experiments - involving 10,000 children and adolescents from every conceivable background all show that violence viewing produces increased aggressive behavior in the young and that immediate remedial action in terms of television programming is warranted." Such categorical statements do not accurately nor completely reflect the literature, and represent an adversary rather than scientifically valid statement. (Rothenberg, M., "Effect of Television Violence on Children and Youth", JAMA, 234, 10:1043-1046: December 8, 1975.)

The stimulus samples in both the clinical and experimental studies included full cartoon episodes, just as broadcast over the networks, comprised of such animated materials as Bullwinkle, Smokey the Bear, George of the Jungle, Johnny Quest, Spiderman, Motor Mouse, Lancelot Link the Secret Chimp, Magilla Gorilla, Hot Wheels, and Road Runner.

EXPERIMENTAL PROCEDURES: (Group B only)

In addition to their participation in the ongoing clinical studies, the Group B children were involved in an experimental study which compared their responses to cartoon materials and non-cartoon materials. The cartoon stimuli consisted of five action cartoons: Spiderman, Smokey the Bear, Hot Wheels and two episodes of Bullwinkle.

The non-cartoon materials were selected for their blandness in order to ensure that any differences in response to viewing these two types of television materials would indeed pick up any differences in aggressive fantasies, attitudes, verbal or physical behaviors following exposure to the stimulus materials. The non-cartoon fare consisted of the following programs: "Rhino" (Animal World), "Valley of Mexico", "Seals and Lion" (Discovery series), "The Hardy Boys", and "Gathering the Team". The Group B children viewed the entire shows, and in addition to the ongoing clinical observations, the following special tests and measures were utilized.

Pre-Post Measures

I. The Sears Aggression Scales[28] have been described fully in pages 21 to 24 in Project I. With minimal modification, they were applied to Project II. It will be recalled that these scales are composed of items in the form of declarative sentences with which a subject could express his agreement or disagreement on a five point scale, ranging from "strongly agree" through "not sure" to "strongly disagree". The content of each item was designed to express one of the following modalities of aggression (or its rejection):

A. Aggressive Anxiety: The scale measures feelings of fear, discomfort and dislike of aggression.

B. Projected Aggression: This scale measures the tendency to attribute aggression to sources outside the self.

C. Self-Aggression: Items referring to self-injury or punishment to the self.

D. Pro-Social Aggression: Aggression used in social approved ways.

E. Anti-Social Aggression: Items referring to aggressive acts that are social unacceptable in our culture.

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[28] Sears, R.R., op. cit.

II. Situations Test:[29] In response to seven hypothetical situations which focused on aggressive encounters, the subject had to respond "yes" or "no" regarding the use of the following modalities in each situation:

a. mild aggression: passivity, no signs of assertion, avoidance, etc.

b. verbal aggression: the use of speech only (arguing, cursing, etc.)

c. covert aggression: wishes or fantasies of an aggressive or violent nature.

d. direct aggression: such as fist fights, pushing, kicking.

e. severe aggression: the use of another instrument or object on a person.

Thus, five measures were available, reflecting the differential use of each of the preceding categories, derived by summing up the subject's choice of each category in the "yes" column.

Individual Program Measures

Individual program measures were administered to the Group B children after each showing of television stimulus materials. These measures included Preference Ratings, Elicited Feelings, Recall of

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[29] Feshbach, S. and Singer, R., op. cit.

Aggressive Incidents and the Behavior Rating Scale.[30]

Preference Rating: Subjects expressed their reaction to the films on a three point scale. A rating of 1 indicated dislike; a rating of 2 indicated moderate likeing; and a rating of 3 strong liking.

Elicited Feelings: These measures reflected the children's affective response and feelings aroused by the television program. Examples of such feelings were excitement, happiness, fear, sadness, nervousness, or rage. Denial of feelings yielded a score of 0. Moderate agreement or acknowledgment received a score of 1. Strong indication or agreement was scored as 2. Scores were summed to obtain a total score as an index of feeling arousal.

Recall: These reports constitute an assessment of the degree of emotional impact carried by the viewed program, as measured by the quantity and types of materials the child focuses on in recounting, recalling, and responding to the television material.

Behavior Rating Scale: This scale consisted of twenty-six items pertaining to a range of aggressive and anti-social manifestations displayed by children. The commission of these various acts during a period of two to three days following a television program was noted on this instrument. The recording and rating of these aggressive acts was the joint responsibility of the teacher and assistant, reviewed by project staff.

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[30] Feshbach, S. and Singer R., op. cit.

See Appendix for tests and pp. 30-33 in Project I for descriptions.

Separate scores were derived for aggression toward peers and aggression toward authority. The degree of aggression was judged mild (scored 1) or strong (scored 2). This scale was used to record and evaluate the changes in the actual day-to-day behavior of the children as an aftermath of the television programs.

In view of the lack of distinction existing in the literature between aggressivity and violence, a content analysis of the Behavior Rating Scale was undertaken in order to carefully delineate the types of aggressive behaviors involved. A further analysis of the Scale indicated three types of behavioral aggressivity were being measured: physical, verbal and attitudinal. The physical aggressivity was further divided to reflect punching or shoving, and damage to property or "accidental" physical harm or damage.

The Behavior Rating Scale was also divided into mild and strong categories and these categories were considered to reflect differences in intent (to hurt). All of the mild physical aggressivity was considered to be the result of characteristic horseplay or kidding around, and instructions to the raters included this definition. No "mild" category - physical, verbal or attitudinal - was regarded by them as having serious intent.

On the other hand, behaviors and attitudes included in the "strong" category were considered to be undertaken or held with serious intent (to harm, to defy, etc.). The physical punching and shoving in this category was what was identified as actually assaultive behavior, and property damage was intentional. Verbal aggressivity was no longer merely normatively sassy; it was provocative, defiant and argumentative. Strong attitudinal aggressivity followed the same pattern. Instructions to the raters again included such definitions.

CLINICAL PROCEDURES

In addition to the above special tests and measurements, the thirty children in Group A and the twenty children in Group B were continued in the ongoing, in-depth clinical studies. These were carried out under the supervision of the senior clinical psychologist and child psychiatrist, and involved ongoing weekly conferences with teachers, house-staff, assistants and research personnel who were involved in the day-to-day observations of these children in the classrooms, the schoolyard, and in the after school and over night behavior of the Group B children.

From these conferences, direct observations of the children, and their progress and response to various aspects of the school and institutional program, clinical data was accumulated on each child with particular reference to his television viewing habits, preferences and responses. Particular attention was paid to his or her behavior following the cartoon stimulus materials in the hours following exposure to the program, including any differences which could be noted, either in aggressivity or frank violent behavior in the twenty-four hour period following the viewing of the television materials.

Teachers, house-parents, teachers' assistants and the research staff were particularly alerted to note any changed in pre-existing patterns of behavior, or imitative materials which might reflect upon exposure to the television stimulus materials.

Experimental Findings (Group B only)

Pre and post group scores for the Sears Aggression Scales and *t* test scores are presented in TABLE I. No significant differences were found in any pre-post subtest scores.

TABLE I:

SEARS AGGRESSION SCALES
Pre-Post Group Scores and *t* Scores
(Group B only) N=20

		PRE	POST	*t*	df	p
Aggression Anxiety						
	M	7.50	7.25	.41	38	>.05
	S.D.	1.75	2.00			
Projected Aggression						
	M	8.10	8.95	-1.48	38	>.05
	S.D.	1.95	1.56			
Self Aggression						
	M	2.65	2.70	- .12	38	>.05
	S.D.	1.35	1.14			
Prosocial Aggression						
	M	4.80	4.50	.65	38	>.05
	S.D.	1.33	1.50			
Antisocial Aggression						
	M	5.75	5.95	- .44	38	>.05
	S.D.	1.41	1.36			

M=Mean S.D.=Standard Deviation

Pre and post group scores and *t* test scores for the situations Test are presented in TABLE II. No significant pre-post subtest differences were found.

TABLE II:

SITUATIONS TEST
Pre-Post Group Scores and t Scores
(Group B only) N=20

		PRE	POST	t	df	p
Mild	M	2.40	2.40	0.0	38	>.05
	S.D.	1.36	1.46			
Verbal	M	7.45	7.60	- .14	38	>.05
	S.D.	3.84	2.80			
Covert	M	8.45	11.85	-1.53	38	>.05
	S.D.	6.46	7.19			
Direct	M	13.35	16.20	-1.10	38	>.05
	S.D.	8.45	7.53			
Severe	M	8.35	13.00	-1.56	38	>.05
	S.D.	8.38	9.93			
Total	M	43.50	50.60	- .98	38	>.05
	S.D.	24.55	20.02			

M=Mean S.D.=Standard Deviation

Program Report Measures:

Group Preference Rating scores following exposure to cartoon and non-cartoon programs are presented in TABLE III. The children from Group B expressed equal liking for both cartoon and non-cartoon programs.

TABLE III:

PREFERENCE RATING
Group Scores Following Exposure to
Cartoon and Non-Cartoon Programs
(Group B only) N=20

	M	S.D.	t	df	p*
Cartoon	3.10	3.90	1.94	38	>.05
Non-Cartoon	1.35	.48			

M=Mean S.D.=Standard Deviation

* Although not significant at 5%, this t score very nearly approached significant, p=.06.

Elicited Feelings group scores and t score are presented in TABLE IV. The children in Group B had significantly greater affect arousal following the cartoons than following the non-cartoon programs.

TABLE IV:

ELICITED FEELINGS
Group Scores Following Exposure to
Cartoon and Non-Cartoon Programs
(Group B only) N=20

	M	S.D.	t	df	p
Cartoon	5.40	4.70	2.48	38	$< .05$
Non-Cartoon	2.70	.64			

M=Mean S.D.=Standard Deviation

Cartoon and non-cartoon Recall scores and t score are presented in TABLE V. There were no significant differences in the number of aggressive incidents remembered from cartoon or non-cartoon.

TABLE V

RECALL
Group Scores Following Exposure to
Cartoon and Non-Cartoon Programs
(Group B only) N=20

	M	S.D.	t	df	p
Cartoon	.25	.54	- .31	38	$> .05$
Non-Cartoon	.35	1.31			

M=Mean S.D.=Standard Deviation

Behavior Rating Scale Group scores for peer aggression and authority aggression are recorded in TABLE VI.

TABLE VI:

BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE
Group Scores Following Exposure to
Cartoon and Non-Cartoon Programs
(Group B only) N=20

		M	S.D.	t	df	p
PEER	Cartoon	5.85	3.67	2.04	38	.05
	Non-Cartoon	3.45	3.85			
AUTHORITY	Cartoon	2.00	.84	4.40	38	.01
	Non-Cartoon	.90	.70			

M=Mean S.D.=Standard Deviation

The children in Group B showed significantly more behavioral aggressivity toward both peers and authority following their viewing of cartoons than after viewing non-cartoon programs. In order to determine the extent and type of behavioral aggressivity displayed by these children, a content analysis of the Behavior Rating Scale was conducted. (See Appendix for procedure and item selection.) TABLE VII presents the results.

TABLE VII:

BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE CONTENT ANALYSIS
Total Numbers of Incidents Following
Viewing of Cartoon and Non-Cartoon Programs

			CARTOON		NON-CARTOON	
			Mild	Strong	Mild	Strong
PEER						
	Physical:	Punch	13	4	4	2
		Shove	41	6	30	2
		Other	19	8	10	8
	Verbal:		97	35	90	40
	Attitudinal:		41	12	30	4
AUTHORITY						
	Physical:	Punch	0	0	1	0
		Shove	0	0	0	0
		Other	5	0	4	0
	Verbal:		26	2	30	3
	Attitudinal:		23	1	31	0

Mild=horseplay, kidding around, not serious intent Strong=serious intent

Peer Behavior Ratings

Cartoon vs. Non-Cartoons:

Statistical analysis of the peer physical aggression indicated there was significantly more mild punching (horseplay) after viewing cartoons than after viewing non-cartoon programs (x^2=4.76, df=1, $p < .05$). The mild physical categorgies showed no significant differences in shoving (x^2 =1.70, df=1, $p > .05$) or other physical aggression (x^2=2.24, df=1, $p > .05$) after viewing either cartoon or non-cartoon programs. There were no significant differences in the number of incidents in any strong (serious intent) physical aggression category for peer aggression (punching x^2=.83, df=1, $p > .05$; shoving x^2=2.12, df=1, $p > .05$; other x^2=0.0, df=1, $p > .05$).

Statistical analysis of the peer verbal aggression indicated no significant differences occurred in the numbers of incidents in the mild category (kidding around or not serious) following viewing of either cartoon or non-cartoon programs (x^2=.26, df=1, $p > .05$). However, there were significantly more strong (serious) verbal incidents following viewing of cartoon rather than non-cartoon programs (x^2=4.08, df=1, $p < .05$).

Peer attitudinal aggression analysis indicated that cartoon versus non-cartoon programs produced no significant differences in the mild category (x^2=1.70, df=1, $p > .05$), but that cartoons produced significantly more strong aggressive attitudes than non-cartoon programs (x^2=4.00, df=1, $p < .05$).

Mild vs. Strong Aggression After Viewing Non-Cartoon Programs:

There were no significant differences in the numbers of incidents of mild or strong punching (x^2=.83, df=1, $p > .05$), or mild or strong other physical aggression (x^2=.22, df=1, $p > .05$). However, there was significantly more mild shoving (horseplay) than there was serious shoving (x^2=24.50, df=1, $p < .01$).

There were also significantly more mild than strong verbally aggressive incidents ($x^2=44.54$, df=1, $p<.01$) and more mild than strong attitudinal aggression ($x^2=18$, df=1, $p<.01$).

Mild vs. Strong Aggression After Viewing Cartoons:

There were significantly more incidents of mild physical aggression (horseplay, not serious) in all categories than strong or non-playful physical aggression (punching $x^2=4.76$, df=1, $p<.05$; shoving $x^2=16.04$, df=1, $p<.01$; other $x^2=4.48$, df=1, $p<.05$).

There were also significantly more mild than strong incidents of verbal aggression ($x^2=29.12$, df=1, $p<.01$), and there was more mild than strong attitudinal aggression ($x^2=15.80$, df=1, $p<.01$).

Authority Behavior Ratings

Cartoon vs. Non-Cartoon:

Analysis of the authority phsycial aggression indicated no differences in the number of incidents in any mild or strong category following viewing of cartoons or non-cartoon programs. As can be seen in Table VII, these categories contained no incidents at all for strong physical aggression following either cartoon or non-cartoon programs.

Statistical analysis of verbal aggression against authority indicated no differences in mild verbal aggression following exposure to cartoon or non-cartoon programs ($x^2=.28$, df=1, $p>.05$). There were also no significant differences in strong verbal aggression ($x^2=.20$, df=1, $p>.05$).

There were no significant differences in mild attitudinal aggression ($x^2=.92$, df=1, $p>.05$) or strong attitudinal aggression ($x^2=1.0$, df=1, $p>.05$) following viewing of cartoon or non-cartoon programs.

Mild vs. Strong Aggression After Viewing Cartoons:

There were significantly more incidents of mild (not serious) "other" physical aggression following cartoon viewing than strong ($x^2=4.24$, $df=1$, $p < .05$). This category included things like bumping into chairs. There were no significant differences in the mild versus strong punching and shoving categories.

There were also significantly more mild than strong incidents of verbal aggression ($x^2=20.50$, $df=1$, $p < .01$) and there was more mild than strong attitudinal aggression ($x^2=20$, $df=1$, $p < .01$).

Mild vs. Strong Aggression After Viewing Non-Cartoon Programs:

There was more mild than strong physical aggression in the "other" category which included minor property damage ($x^2=5.2$, $df=1$, $p < .05$), but no differences, in fact, no incidents at all, between the mild and strong punching and shoving categories.

There were significantly more mild incidents of verbal aggression than strong ($x^2=22.08$, $df=1$, $p < .01$), and there were significantly more mild attitudes of aggression than strong ($x^2=11.0$, $df=1$, $p < .01$) after viewing non-cartoon programs.

Clinical Findings

Whereas the previous experimental findings represented data gathered from controlled test circumstances and test measurements in response to the stimulus variable of cartoon and non-cartoon programs, the following clinical materials represent numerous, ongoing clinical observations of these children during their day-to-day behavior in the classroom, the schoolyard and in their evening activities following stimulus programs.

It had been previously demonstrated that the emotionally impaired children in Group A were less aggressive in their behavior following the cartoon project in comparison to the relatively more ego-intact youngsters in Group B. There differences were reflective of pre-existing personality factors and ego defense mechanisms which related to their response to stimuli in general. The more disturbed children in Group A utilized television stimulus materials to bind and give structure to their pre-existing, more chaotic aggressive impulses. As a result of this cognitive binding or form which the aggressive television cartoons provided for these children, clinical observations failed to reveal any increase in behavioral aggressivity, and their general, more chaotic acting out appeared to be diminished by virtue of their absorption in the aggressive television materials.

By way of contrast, the Group B children responded to the television stimulus materials with various increased manifestations of aggressiveness. These were short-lived, and generally appeared limited to the first fifteen to thirty minutes following upon the viewing of the cartoon programs.

Much of this aggressivity was regarded by the teachers, clinicians and house staff as consistent with the same order of behavior which these youngsters showed following excitation from other forms of entertainment, including movies, sports, games and various respites from the more controlled and disciplined circumstances of their classroom routines.

The increased aggressiveness included attitudes, verbal name-calling, critical remarks and teasing, as well as shoving, wrestling and horse play.

It was the impression of the teachers, their assistants, the house staff and the research observers that whereas several fights did indeed occur between youngsters following their viewing of television materials, that these by no means represented marked differences in the behavior of these children following their release from the classroom or other organized activities. The hallway and schoolyard behavior of these children included a general level of shoving, tripping and occasional fights which appeared in about the same amount and degree as that encountered following their exposure to the cartoon materials.

Another clinical finding, again related to the difference between the more emotionally impaired children in Group A who appeared to recall and talk about more aggressive incidents from the television cartoons than did the more psychologically intact children from broken homes (Group B). The Group A children appeared to be more impressed, so to speak, by the cartoon action.

CLINICAL CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Both subtle and overt behavioral and attitudinal changes were particularly watched for in all of the children in the cartoon study. The teachers, staff and project personnel noted, recorded and discussed their observations of daily behavior, and particularly those behavioral and attitudinal changes which might manifest themselves following exposure to the television test materials of both the cartoon and non-cartoon varieties.

It was a noteworthy and frequent finding that a number of children in the Group A sample of emotionally impaired children appeared indeed to be less aggressive following their exposure to the cartoon materials. It was the opinion of the senior clinical psychologist and child psychiatrist that these reflected the cognitive binding or support which the structure of the television programs provided for some of the more cognitively and emotionally impaired children. Following viewing of the programs they were less chaotic and diffuse in their expression of aggressivity. This is to be distinguished from a so-called "catharsis" theory* of the effects of portrayed violence, which would maintain that violence in television cartoons serves as an outlet for aggression in child viewers.

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* By itself, the catharsis theory is simplistic. There is clinical evidence, however, to indicate that catharsis in the sense of abreaction plays a role in the overall dynamics of the complex psychological system of assimilation and response to media-portrayed violence, and interacts with such ego mechanisms as projection, introjection and identification with the aggressor.

The clinical findings and direct observations of these children are consistent with a theory of cognitive support in which inner, aggressive (id) impulses are attached, or "bound" to outer aggressive materials (portrayed violence). The direct clinical observation of these children indicates that affects, feelings and emotions can be stimulated significantly by cartoons, but that behaivoral changes in aggressivity are essentially verbal, attitudinal and playful, and fall short of any meaningful change in their pre-existing level of purposeful peer assaultiveness or violence.

Clinically the emotionally impaired children identified readily with the cartoon characters in their quasi-human foibles; but their actual behavior was not altered, or imitative of cartoon violence. It was felt that the differences between the more psychologically intact Group B children and the more emotionally impaired Group A children were such that the impaired group was less sure of itself behaviorally.

Clinically, the aggressive and typical violent behavior of the emotionally impaired group was more in the nature of chaotic, tantrum-like behavior in response to overwhelming frustration, and was not imitative of cartoon materials.

The more psychologically intact children in Group B were more confident of their ability to approach closely the tolerable line of acceptable behavior, and like active youngsters, explored the limits of teacher and other authoritarian tolerance through such testing mechanisms as pranks, humor, verbal teasing and a higher level of mutual boyish horse-play. Where cartoon characters and pranks lent themselves to such purposes, they tended to be imitated, and sampled as part of the changing repertoire of these youngsters' pre-existing aggressive verbalizations and behaviors.

The emotionally imparied children recalled,recounted and focused on more aggressive incidents about the cartoons than did the children in Group B. This appeared to be related to the tendency of the emotionally impaired children to "bind" or utilize aggressive stories and television content in the management of their own, inner aggressive impulses.

In addition to the ongoing, daily clinical observations of both groups by the teachers, assistants, and research staff under the supervision of the senior clinical psychologist, the Group B children were given Behavior Rating Scales immediately following their viewing of both the cartoon and non-cartoon television materials. The increase in aggressive behavior, rather broadly asserted by critics of children's cartoons, was indeed reflected in the results of the Behavior Rating Scales. The careful content analysis of this heightened aggressivity, however, indicates that it falls far short of any increase in actual violence or interpersonal assaultiveness in the day-to-day lives of these children. This is to be contrasted with experimentally - induced behaviors in which aggressivity under laboratory conditions may not be reflective of the child's behavior in real-life circumstances.

It is not surpirsing that the Behavior Rating Scale indicated a significantly higher degree of aggressivity in the Group B children following their viewing of the action cartoons in comparison to their responses to the non-cartoon materials which were selected for their blandness and lack of violent content. The content analysis of the aggressive responses to the cartoon materials was recorded as essential since much of the literature fails to distinguish between aggressivity and violence.*

A rather broad range of experimentally-induced or laboratory-produced children's behavior following exposure to television stimulus materials has been called either aggressive or violent without adequate delineation between the two. The lack of distinction encourages both distorted and scientifically unfounded charges by lay critics who in turn more broadly cite the loose language and concepts of studies which appear to regard typical childish pushing, horse-play and assertiveness as "violence".[31,32] While both the clinical findings and experimental study suggest that aggressive affects, feelings and emotions are indeed stimulated by cartoons, actual behavior which is labelled as aggressive must be distinguished from violence or assaultiveness in the interests of avoiding categorical statements.

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* The authors have long held that aggressivity is more properly regarded as the opposite of passivity, and would include such behaviors as assertiveness and those characterized by strong, forceful initiative which do not necessarily seek the harm, destruction, restriction or containment of their object. Violence, on the other hand, is best reserved to describe those behaviors which are characterized by a hostile, destructive or containing aim or result, in our view.

[31] Looney, Gerald, op. cit.

[32] Rothenberg, M., "Effect of Television Violence on Children and Youth", JAMA, 234,10:1043-1046: December 8, 1975.

The analysis of the results of the Behavior Rating Scale in the Group B children indicates that the meaningful changes following the viewing of action cartoons were limited to attitudinal and verbal aggressive responses on the part of the child viewers. Both the clinical studies of the emotionally impaired group and broken home children failed to reveal any significant changes in their pre-existing, longitudinally observed patterns of assaultiveness or actual violence. Moreover, the content analysis of the Behavior Rating Scale in the Group B children, while showing significant changes in post-cartoon viewing verbal and attitudinal aggressivity, failed to show any significant changes in actual assaultiveness or interpersonal violence in their post-viewing classroom, schoolyard or evening dormitory behavior.

What was also most obvious and noteworthy when examining the test results on the content analysis of the Behaivor Rating Scales was the relatively few numbers of actually recordable aggressive behavior in any category or any type when compared to the total numbers of incidents which could have been marked. Thus, even though increases in a variety of aggressive behaviors and attitudes were indeed noted following exposure to cartoons, these increases were still a relatively unimpressive percentage of the potential total numbers of incidents.

Both groups of children readily identified with cartoon characters, but distinguished the violent problem-solving antics of cartoons from practical behaviors which were available to them for solutions to real or actual situations in their own lives.

These particular two groups of vulnerable children included a number of youngsters who had emotionally determined learning disabilities, and other children whose experiences resulted in the dulling of conceptual and imaginative resources associated with restricted ego development. These studies suggest that the emotionally impaired child who does not, or cannot, engage in self-generated aggressive fantasy may somehow utilize the external support provided by the vicarious fantasy experience of watching "action" aggression on television. Such children, in addition to their clinical developmental problems are "needy" from their lack of adequate cognitive resources.

In a recent article, Bettleheim[33] pointed to the child's utilization of the folk fairytale in bringing order into the turmoil of his feelings. He goes on to describe how "Fairytales underwent severe criticism when the new discoveries of psychoanalysis and child psychology revealed just how violent, anxious, destructive, and even sadistic a child's imagination is...doubters claimed that these stories created, or at least greatly encouraged, these upsetting feelings..." Bettleheim then proceeds to point out that, "Parents who wish to deny that their child has murderous wishes and wants to tear things, and even people, to pieces, believe that their child must be prevented from engaging in such thoughts (as if this were possible)...and the child is left to feel that he is the only one who imagines such things. This makes his fantasies really scary."

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[33] Bettleheim, B., "Reflections (Fairytales)", The New Yorker, p. 50, December 8, 1975.

The same criticisms and concerns are voiced about numerous television cartoons. Like folk fairytales which evolve by being re-told, the formulas and plots of children's cartoons are re-told and re-modified hundreds of times in different renditions, forms, shapes and colors. There is a continuum between ancient folk fairytales, re-told by Grimm and Anderson, animated by Disney, and modified and elaborated through the countless variations of a generation of skilled cartoon-makers. As indicated by Bettleheim, the aggressive and even sadistic fantasies for which such materials provide external form in children may not only be useful, but essential to their development in resolving marked and frightening anxieties which reflect inner conflicts between their immature id, ego and developing superego functions.

PROJECT III:

TELEVISION STUDIES WITH YOUTHFUL AND YOUNG ADULT OFFENDERS (Pilot)

In planning our series of studies of the effects of televised violence on emotionally vulnerable children (Projects I and II), it seemed obvious that attention should be directed as well to the study of known violent persons. A logical choice was to explore a prison population of youthful and young adult offenders who were exposed to television fare throughout the formative years of their childhood and adolescence.

Youthful and young adult offenders, especially those charged with crimes of violence, or those whose institutional adjustments are marked by pugnacity, may be readily documented as vulnerable or predisposed to violence, in that their various forms of aggression have brought them into forceful conflict with the law. One need make no inferences or speculations about their aggressive or violent propensities. Where better than in the study of such a group might it be demonstrated that media-portrayed violence generates or contributes to causality, or is implicated by association with the production of actual, behavioral violence?

With respect to this prospect, there are difficulties inherent in almost every research design which seeks to evaluate the long term effects of exposure to television-portrayed violence on children. For example, a seemingly ideal method would be to begin an intensive study of the learning processes of three to five year old children, and somehow continue in close longitudinal contact with these research subjects for fifteen or more years, in order to observe the effects of television programs on their learning and development. The difficulties involved in this type of study, particularly in view of modern population mobility, are almost insurmountable. Attempting to control variables, other than television, which could also influence development, would be an exercise in futility.

Rationale

An alternative method would attempt a retrospective study of the influence of exposure to television violence on the development and behavior of known assaultive persons. Project III begins with in-depth evaluations of the personality structures and life situations of known violent persons. It then seeks to reconstruct their past history and childhood development, with special focus on television viewing habits, through data obtained by the use of special interviewing procedures developed for the purposes of this project by clinicians experienced in the assessment of offenders.

Many problems are inherent in this approach. One must be able to guide and assist subjects in the recall of significant aspects of their past lives, without cutting off their spontaneous offerings. In research with prisoners, one must assess and encourage their motivation to present a truthful picture. The experienced clinician is prepared to recognize and deal with both consciously and unconsciously determined distortions in all subject-disclosed materials, and avoids taking at face value any single finding or group of findings.

The clinical data obtained in Project III was gathered and scrutinized with every view to minimizing the inclusion of false or innaccurate information. Toward this end, the investigations were carried out under the close supervision of forensic psychiatrists with many years of experience in judging the reliability of information obtained in interviews with prison inmates.*

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* The authors of this report have directed the Temple University Unit in Law & Psychiatry since 1957. In addition to carrying out a number of clinical studies of offender populations, this interdisciplinary university facility has also provided the bulk of psychiatric diagnostic services for the Philadelphia Court and Prison Systems, evaluating several thousands of offenders annually, and providing hundreds of formal, in-depth studies and comprehensive reports for pre-sentence and probation purposes. The weight given to these reports in practical dispositions and decisions is considerable, and their consequences are more than academic. These psychiatrists and psychologists, who are part of a university research facility, have had special training in the forensic behavioral sciences, and have contributed to ongoing seminars, lectures and clinical conferences dealing with the offender, and particularly with the dangerous or aggressive offender. Project III drew, therefore, not on a hastily assembled staff of forensic novices soon to become instant experts, but upon a unique, existing team of clinicians and researchers whose primary and long-standing university interests have concerned themselves specifically with offender populations. New personnel brought into this project were integrated into the existing forensic team. The interviews in Project III were carried out by Dr. Edward Guy, assisted by Douglas Bry. Additional interviews and discussions were conducted by the authors.

Despite the experience and expertise of this research team in gaining a high degree of trust and cooperation from such subjects, nothing was taken for granted and particular care was paid to mutual confidence and the preservation of confidentiality. Each inmate in the study was assured that none of the shared interview materials would find its way into court or institutional records, or be used in any identifiable way against him.

Because of the long existence and acceptance of this university-affiliated clinical reserach team at the Prison, Project III enjoyed from its beginning the confidence of the Administration, the inmates and the institutional staff.

For persons not experienced with inmates, the interests of prisoners in participating in clear, prosocial research projects comes as a pleasant surprise. This interest, and even enthusiasm, is more understandable when one realizes the paucity of meaningful activities and/or employment available to inmates of a huge, metropolitan prison system. Beyond the idealistic wish to contribute to the betterment of knowledge, inmates have learned that even their transient associations with behavioral science research personnel can provide warm, interesting interludes and contrasts to an otherwise bleak, hostile and impersonal environment. A sensitive awareness of these considerations and potentials is an essential ingredient in the carrying out of medical or psychological research projects in a prison milieu.

There is little purpose in presenting here a theoretical list of motivating factors which might relate to inmate participation in medical experiments. It is important to note, however, that the medical experimental program has introduced the inmate to a number of interpersonal relationships which he otherwise would not have encountered within the prison. In other words, in addition to his exposure to officers and other prison personnel, the inmate experiences day-to-day contact with university-affiliated research personnel.

It is likely that the intuitive interpersonal contacts between the inmates and the researchers have psychotherapeutic or rehabilitative potential. These relationships are not psychologically bland. The ingredients of a therapeutic experience are poorly understood. We talk of insight and transference. Certainly, a number of inmates will identify themselves with selected research persons depending on the personality characteristics of each. Herein lies a beneficial potential by-product for certain inmates. It is not merely that the inmate has an opportunity for further contact with researchers who may impress him as admirable representatives of society, but that these contacts can be both gratifying and effective in the inmate's re-appraisal of himself and his socio-economic prospects.

"Some inmates have the additional opportunity of functioning as assistants in various projects. Their exposure to scientific method, record-keeping and laboratory procedures can be further developed to serve as an introduction to meaningful rehabilitative educational programs. These matters are worthy of additional investigation to determine the possible usefulness of rehabilitative by-products in medical experimental programs."[34]

Standardization of Interviewing and Data Collection Guide:

In seeking to develop ways of collecting, recording and analyzing information on violent offenders, a pilot sample of thirty-five 16 to 18 year old offenders was selected. Of these thirty were being held on crimes of violence against other persons, and five were being held for such crimes as burglary or drug use.

From the experience gained in working with this initial group of youthful offenders, we were able to obtain interviewing guides and procedures which were tested and reapplied until our research staff was satisfied that a useful clinical interviewing outline had been obtained, and that this outline would address itself as thoroughly as possible to our two main areas of interest: (1) developmental history, anti-social background and record of violent behavior; and (2) the offender's television viewing patterns and experiences.

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[34] Heller, M.D., "Problems and Prospects in the Use of Prison Inmates for Medical Experimentation", The Prison Journal: 47,1:212;1967.

It was hoped that as a result of work in the pilot study, Project III, that pertinent data could be gathered, classified and grouped in such a way as to be clinically meaningful, and at the same time lend itself to eventual computerization. With additional experience, the data might lend itself to the development of a useful violence profile which might then be compared with a so-called television viewing profile.

After much trial and error, conferences, and editing, we standardized eighteen sets of items that were agreed upon for coverage in the clinical-research interviews. The elments touched upon were reasonably comprehensive. Considering our over-abundant areas of interest, (in all of the many variables associated with the development of violent behavioral patterns, and the influence of television-viewing experiences on violent behavior), the items touched upon, but in no way exhausted all of the inter-related complexities involved in making meaningful evaluations of the multiple causal factors contributing to violent behavior in large numbers of offenders.

Areas of Clinical Investigation:

We began with such standard identifying and related information as sex, age, marital status, religion and ethnic group, the offender's current legal status and past juvenile and adult criminal records, with a breakdown in the types of arrests and convictions. Since there is sometimes a wide variation between the offender's involvement in criminal acts and his arrest record, attention has been further paid to anti-social behavior which has not been officially recorded or charged.

Developmental and background influences were sought, including genetic, family, socio-economic, early environmental and neighborhood factors, including the level of neighborhood gang activity and the subject's involvement.

There followed standardized sections regarding educational, religious, vocational and military backgrounds, as well as the sexual, psychiatric and past medical histories. There was also included a specific section of detailed information about past involvement in violent interaction, including a section on injuries inflicted upon the subject by others, self-inflicted injuries, and injuries inflicted by the subject on others.

Specific information was obtained regarding the use of alcohol and all types of drugs, the age at which dependency may have been established, the degree of drug-associated social and occupational impairment, as well as drug or alcohol-related criminal behavior.

This was followed by a psychological and psychiatric evaluation and diagnostic assessment, with particular reference to impulsiveness, aggressivity and dangerousness.

The interview section dealing with television habits began with details of age-grouped exposure to television, and type or content of programs watched, with specific questions related to action dramas. This was followed by a determination of the subject's three favorite programs at various age levels, reactions to commercials, and his own impressions of the effects television had upon him. Specific questions investigated his interest in imitating television characters or plots in his play or in his real behavior. Additional investigation was made of whether the individual ever acted out a crime seen on television, and whether or how television influenced his criminal career.

The entire instrument, developed as a result of our interviewing and information-gathering efforts with the pilot group of youthful offenders is reproduced in detail in the Appendix, under "Interviewing and Data Collection Guide".

It will be seen from an examination from the Data Collection and Interviewing Guide (see Appendix) that each interview can be completed in 60 to 90 minutes, depending upon digressions, as a general rule. It has been our experience that the subjects' interests were sustained over the period of time necessary to complete the gathering of information, that they were interested in the issues; and that there was a useful level of reliability and candor in the responses obtained in our own prison setting.*

Findings

The results of the pilot study indicated that adolescents in a prison setting would respond reliably to specially developed interviewing procedures which elicited specific materials to be kept, in the highest degree of confidentiality, separate from their institutional and court records.

Experiences with the pilot group of adolescents (of whom twenty-one were being held on homicide charges, eight for aggravated robberty and assault, and one for forcible rape), indicated the present seriousness of their charges did not necessarily corrleate with an extensive history of juvenile delinquency, or repeated arrests.

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* Again, it is pointed out that mutual confidence and confidentiality are essential ingredients in successful behavioral science research in a prison setting. In addition, it is noted that each subject who volunteered for the interview received the sum of $1.00 to be placed in his commissary account, token money representing not only payment, but acknowledgment of his dignity and independence in cooperating with the study.

The nature of the offense is not to be confused with the nature of the criminal. Only half of the homicide cases, for example, had a past history of significant violence. Some of the adolescents who did not have a long history of criminal activities or pre-existing violent behavior, found themselves caught in the circumstances of a ghetto street gang eruption, in which the killing was part of an isolated, nightmarish event in the otherwise adventitious posturings required for gang acceptance. It was our impression that a number of minor charges, including such varied juvenile charges as incorrigibility or chronic truancy, often turned out to conceal more disturbed behavior, and more serious psychiatric diagnoses, than was revealed in those awaiting trial on homicide charges.

Further, bearing out the fact that serious charges did not correlate with past violent behavior in the pilot group, a review of juvenile crime records indicated that thirteen of the thirty-five had no significant juvenile police records, and another fourteen had records of relatively moderate severity. While the severity of the criminal charge did not correlate with a serious or extensive past police record, a history of high degree of juvenile pugnacity and physical violence did correlate highly with a serious juvenile police record. Of the thirty-five men in this pilot group, sixteen had seriously cut or stabbed other people, and fifteen had shot at least one person, indicative of an impressive group propensity for violence. Not all of these events resulted in arrests.

Exposure to Television in the Pilot Group

All of the adolescents and young adults in the pilot study had a television set at home throughout their lives, and in many cases there was more than one set. Only fourteen of these adolescents rated high (two to four hours per day), in time spent watching television; sixteen rated moderate and five rated low (less than two hours per day).

Twenty of these teen-agers reported that they tended to watch significantly less television when they entered their teens, but nine felt that they watched more television after they became teen-agers. It was felt that this factor or marked variability in the rate of television viewing during adolescence and late teen-age may have particular reference to periods of threatened violence on the boundaries of gang "turf", at which times indoor activity, especially television, would present itself as a discreet alternative to confrontation on the streets.

An initial attempt to compare the amount of time spent watching television with the degree of violence found in the background of these young men did not reveal any significant correlation.

Our initial interview with the thirty-five youthful offenders, examined their attitudes and experiences regarding television by exploring their television program preferences and the reasons for them. The highest preferences in this group were for law and order or crime type programs. This was followed closely by a preference for war pictures, then in order by westerns, violent sports (particularly boxing and football), horror programs, cartoons of all types, science fiction, variety shows, situation comedies, stand-up comedy, news broadcasts and lastly quiz shows.

With respect to movies broadcast on television, the preferences again were for crime movies, followed by war pictures, western and historical pictures with violent action. It is interesting that in the westerns, this primarily black group of offenders identified primarily with the Indians and openly hissed the racist cowboys.

Our initial explorations regarding commercials indicated that twenty-two of the thirty-five violent youthful offenders paid significant attention to many of the commercial, and particularly noticed the products. All of these youthful criminals were asked whether they ever felt particularly put-down or hopelessly left out or deprived when they watched commercials featuring lavish homes, vacation resorts or material possessions. It was interesting that only four of the thirty-five young men admitted to feeling put-down, discouraged, or left out by such advertisements. These findings, as were the others in the pilot study, were marked for futher investigation in subsequent projects.

Initial explorations of what inmates would claim they learned from television-viewing were interesting and instructive. Ten of these youthful violent offenders indicated that they had learned nothing on television, that it was merely a way to pass the time, or a form of entertainment. With respect to crime, five felt that television's message was that the criminal always gets caught and that crime does not pay. Another five, on the other hand, were able to talk quite frankly about certain television shows which contained for them a number of instructive lessons in criminal technique.

Three of the inmates went to great lengths to condemn television as "so phony" that nothing could be learned from it. They particularly blamed documentaries and news stories as being staged propaganda, and their elaborations of these allegations were accompanied by political and paranoid overtones of their overall rage at the "racist-capitalist system". On another note, they commended television as having been helpful to them in further developing sports skills (in basketball and football particularly), through watching the movements and plays of professionals whom they sought to emulate.

However, nineteen of the thirty-five in this group downgraded television as an influence and interest in their recent lives in comparison with other media, including magazines, newspapers and radio programs. With respect to entertainment, these nineteen tended to favor music, records and movies.

Of particular interst were the responses to our investigations regarding the possible acting-out of the crimes which had been previously seen on television programs. Twelve of the thirty-five youthful offenders indicated that they had been consciously aware of acting out the techniques of a crime which they had previously seen "demonstrated" on television! The more violent youthful offenders tended to report that such programs had modified the techniques of their criminal activities more than did the less violent ones among the group.

None of this initial group felt that television had played any causal role in the development of their anti-social or criminal propensities. This was in contrast to the instructional role that some shows played in their detailed illustrations of how, and how not to, perform certain criminal acts. As examples, they cited insights television provided into police methodology and routine, as well as specific instruction in the proper approach to burglar alarm systems, barbed wire barricades, and central electrical fuse-boxes. It takes more than a pistol and parachute to produce a skyjacker, but there are sufficient numbers of desperate men willing to try it, with no more knowledge than can be gained in the newspaper.

It was felt that the time consumed in the pilot study, Project III, was rewarded by the development and refining of clinical investigative techniques which would lend themselves to the study of violent youthful offenders, with particular respect to their television viewing patterns. Upon completion of the pilot project, we were able to proceed with more formal studies of several larger samples of youthful and young adult offenders in a prison population.

PROJECT IV:

TELEVISION VIEWING, ANTI-SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND VIOLENT BEHAVIOR - AN EXAMINATION OF ONE HUNDRED YOUNG MALE OFFENDERS

METHOD

In order that standardized information be obtained, an interview and data-collection guide was developed, as described in Project III, to serve as a work sheet for each interview.[35] The data collection-guide consisted of two major sections; the first dealing with developmental history, anti-social background and record of violent behavior, and the second with the television viewing patterns and experiences.

Subject Selection

One hundred subjects were chosen at random from volunteers in the youngest groups in the prison population, since it was only these who would have had a full life-long exposure to television.

Initially, subjects were obtained by searching the Institution's central file, and then locating individuals to see if they wanted to participate. However, the study became so popular that we usually had more volunteers than we could handle.

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[35] In order to tabulate and correlate the data some 344 variables were coded onto five IBM cards for each of the one hundred subjects, according to methods described by Nie, N., Dent, D., and Hill, C., "The Statistical Package for Social Sciences", McGraw-Hill Book Co., N.Y., 1970.

BEHAVIORAL AND DEVELOPMENTAL DATA

Subject Background

Of the one hundred inmates* interviewed for the study, 98 were Black, one was Spanish, and one was French Samoan. 76 of the subjects were born in Philadelphia, 21 in the South, 2 in the West, and 6 in other locations. The age range of the sample is from 16 to 27, with mean age of 22.

Present Legal Status

72 of the subjects were untried and incarcerated awaiting trial. 20 were sentenced, and 8 were awaiting sentencing. Of the untried men, the mean period of incarceration was 5 - 6 months; 8 had been waiting for over a year.

The following is a breakdown of the primary present charges:

Homicide:	30
Assault w/i to kill:	13
Burglary or Larceny:	12
Robbery or Aggravated Robbery:	32
Rape or Assault w/i to Rape:	7
Assault and Battery:	3
Possession or Use: (drugs)	3

Arrest, Conviction, and Incarceration Records

The arrest, conviction and incarceration records are contained in the following tables.

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* Because the sample is 100, absolute frequencies are equal to percent frequencies. Percent signs will be used only when dealing with part of a smaller whole.

TABLE I:

Arrest and Conviction Records

ARREST RECORDS

Frequency	Juvenile	Adult
1. No Arrests	26*	1
2. 1 - 3 Arrests	31	58
3. 4 - 6 Arrests	20	29
4. 7 - 10 Arrests	16	6
5. 11 - 15 Arrests	4	6
6. Over 15 Arrests	3	0

CONVICTION RECORDS

Frequency	Juvenile	Adult
1. No Convictions	33	33
2. 1 Conviction	40	32
3. 2 Convictions	10	14
4. 3 Convictions	10	11
5. 4 or more Convictions	7	10

* N = percent and absolute frequency

TABLE II:

Breakdown of Arrests and Convictions

	JUVENILE		ADULT	
	Arrested*	Convicted*	Arrested*	Convicted*
1. Crimes Against Persons:	48**	29	85	38
2. Crimes Against Property:	54	38	55	35
3. Sex Offenses:	5	3	10	3
4. Drug Offenses:	7	2	25	11
5. Weapons Offenses:	17	5	12	5
6. Truancy:	12	3	0	0
7. Incorrigibility:	7	4	0	0
8. Other:	14	5	12	4

* Each category represents the number arrested or convicted at least once.

** N = percent and absolute frequency

TABLE III:

Incarceration Record

	Juvenile	Adult
1. No incarceration:	42*	2
2. 0-8 months:	11	31
3. 8 months - 1½ years	16	26
4. 1½ to 3 years:	16	27
5. 3 - 5 years:	11	9
6. 5 - 8 years:	4	3
7. 8 - 15 years:	0	2

* N= percent and absolute frequency

Driving Records

32 of the men spoken to had never driven. Of the remaining 78 drivers, only 21 had ever gotten a license, and 8 disclosed that they learned to drive in stolen cars.

Family Background

Half of the subjects came from intact families, 33 from families with just the mother, 1 from a family with just the father, and 14 from foster homes. Most came from large families, the mean number of total siblings per family was 4.9, and 8 of the subjects were the only child. 38 related that their families receive partial or total assistance from the Department of Public Assistance.

24 report major criminal trouble in their family members. In one-fourth of these cases, it was the parents; the rest were siblings.

Neighborhood Gang Membership

69 subjects, by their own rating, grew up in high crime areas. 73 have belonged to gangs, 47 for over three years. Being in a gang is one of the strongest influences these individuals receive. It correlates higher with the level of violence than any other variable.

Education

Only 12 of the subjects have graduated high school, and only 1 of these went on to college. The mean level of education for the sample was the 10th grade. Truancy was the rule, and when they did go to school, 67 were involved in partial or total vocational training, 6 were in remedial programs, 10 were in disciplinary schools, and 16 were in full academic programs. One-fourth of the men spoken to left high school because of incarceration.

Employment History

42 of the subjects relate that they have spent a lot of time unemployed; 7 have never had any job. Most of the subjects have had 4 or 5 jobs, each lasting only a few months. When asked why they left or lost jobs, 22 said the predominant reason was incarceration, 42 said they usually quit, 14 usually got fired, and 12 most often left for a better job.

Marital and Parenting History

79 of the subjects are single and 13 are married - 3 by common-law; 8 are separated or divorced. 44 of the subjects have parented children of their own. Of that number only half assume responsibility for their progeny, and at the present time the Department of Public Assistance is supporting 65% of their offspring.

Sexual History

16 of the subjects showed poor or inadequate sexual adjustment. 14 of these were homosexuals (half of them said for money); 11 reported homosexual experiences while incarcerated.

Religious Background

Forty-three of the men are Baptist, twenty-four report no religious involvement, and sixteen are Muslims. The Muslims were both the most religious and the most recent converts. As a group, they appeared better spoken and more intelligent.

History of Injuries

The records of injuries inflicted and received are contained in the following tables. It was initially felt that there would be a reluctance on the part of the subjects to speak freely of those they had shot and stabbed or otherwise assaulted. However, most of the violent offenders related these experiences with no apparent reluctance.

Seven reported inflicting injuries on themselves; four of these appeared to have been serious suicide attempts.

TABLE IV:

History of Injuries Received and Inflicted

INJURIES RECEIVED

	JUVENILE			ADULT		
	Gunshot	Knife	Blunt Inst.	Gunshot	Knife	Blunt Inst.
1. No Injuries	84	56	77	90	76	85
2. 1 Injury	10	22	8	5	15	9
3. 2 Injuries	5	12	3	5	6	2
4. 3 or 4 Injuries	1	5	4	0	3	3
5. 5 or more Injuries	0	4	8	0	0	1

INJURIES INFLICTED

	JUVENILE			ADULT		
	Gunshot	Knife	Blunt Inst.	Gunshot	Knife	Blunt Inst.
1. No Injuries	77	72	70	86	90	93
2. 1 Injury	7	11	6	6	4	1
3. 2 Injuries	6	2	5	3	2	3
4. 3 or 4 Injuries	4	5	7	4	2	0
5. 5 or more Injuries	6	10	12	1	2	3

N = percent and absolute frequency

Drug Use

Data concerning the drug use of the sample is contained in the following tables. The comments apply to specific drugs and trends which showed up in their use.

Cough Medicine - Often the first high, was described as easy and cheap to obtain. Consumption ranged from a half to three or four bottles a day, but was usually one bottle of such medicines as Hypertussin and Romilar CF.

Volatile Liquids - the predominant pattern of use was to try this once or twice, and if enjoyed to do it every day for a few weeks or months. Almost all the heavy users said they stopped because they became aware that it was seriously handicapping them.

Marijuana - Seventy-two of the men interviewed had tried marijuana. Of all the drugs it appeared to them to be the least debilitating and the least habit-forming.

LSD - Only one subject was an acid freak. He stated that he took four or five trips a day for over a year. Twenty-one others had tried LSD.

Oral Depressants and Tranquilizers - Generally Tuinal or Seconal; both were described as easy to obtain and cheap. Use was usually one or two capsules per day.

Oral Stimulants - The use of oral stimulants was almost negligible since very few subjects hesitated to administer them intravenously, with greater effect.

Intravenous Methedrine and Heroin - Often used in a combination called a "speedball", these two drugs, aside from alcohol, appeared to precipitate the most violence and criminal behavior. Most of the addicts spoken to were "shooting" from five to twelve "bags" a day when incarcerated. One individual had a daily habit of of two bundles (approximately 50 bags).

Alcohol - Used extensively by young gang members, it was not uncommon to find thirteen to fifteen year olds consuming upwards of half a gallon of wine a day. Alcohol, procurement and legal factors not considered, appeared to produce the most violence of all the drugs.

TABLE V:

Cough Medicine

	Age First Used	
1.	No Use:	46*
2.	8-12 years:	2
3.	13-16 years:	16
4.	17-20 years:	28
5.	21-27 years:	8

	Pattern of Use	
1.	Tried once or twice:	29
2.	Used off and on:	2
3.	Used regularly:	4
4.	Some dependence:	18
5.	Established habit:	1

	Length of Use	
1.	1-3 months:	1
2.	4-6 months:	3
3.	7 months to 1 year	4
4.	1-2 years:	7
5.	3-4 years:	5
6.	5-8 years:	3

	Estimate of Impairement due to Drug Influence**	
1.	None	0
2.	Slight:	5
3.	Moderate:	16
4.	Marked:	2

Number Still Using When Incarcerated**
7

* N = percent and absolute frequency

** Recorded only if 3-5 under pattern of use

TABLE VI:

Volatile Liquids (Glue)

Age First Used	
1. No Use:	74*
2. 8-12 years:	1
3. 13-16 years:	12
4. 17-20 years:	10
5. 21-27 years:	3

Pattern of Use	
1. Tried once or twice:	18
2. Used off and on:	1
3. Used regularly	2
4. Some dependence:	3
5. Established habit:	1

Length of Use**	
1. 1-3 months:	2
2. 4-6 months:	1
3. 7 months to 1 year:	2
4. 1-2 years:	1
5. 3-4 years:	0
6. 5-8 years:	0

Estimate of Impairment due to Drug Influence**	
1. None:	0
2. Slight:	2
3. Moderate:	2
4. Marked:	2

Number Still Using When Incarcerated**
4

* N = percent and absolute frequency

** Recorded only if 3-5 under patterns of use

TABLE VII:

Marijuana

Age First Used	
1. No Use:	28*
2. 8-12 years:	2
3. 13-16 years:	28
4. 17-20 years:	35
5. 21-27 years:	7

Patterns of Use	
1. Tried once or twice:	15
2. Used off and on:	41
3. Used regularly:	3
4. Some dependence:	11
5. Established habit:	2

Length of Use**	
1. 1-3 months:	0
2. 4-6 months:	0
3. 7 months to 1 year:	1
4. 1-2 years:	3
5. 3-4 years:	4
6. 5-8 years:	8

Estimate of Impairment due to Drug Influence**	
1. None:	1
2. Slight:	1
3. Moderate:	11
4. Marked:	3

Number Still Using When Incarcerated**
13

* N = percent and absolute frequency

** Recorded only if 3-5 in pattern of use

TABLE VIII:

LSD

	Age First Used	
1.	No use:	78*
2.	8-12 years:	0
3.	13-16 years:	0
4.	17-20 years:	13
5.	21-27 years:	9

	Pattern of Use	
1.	Tried once or twice:	16
2.	Used off and on:	5
3.	Used regularly:	0
4.	Some dependence:	0
5.	Established habit:	1

	Length of Use**	
1.	1-3 months:	0
2.	4-6 months:	0
3.	7 months to 1 year:	0
4.	1-2 years:	1
5.	3-4 years:	0
6.	5-8 years:	0

	Estimate of Impairment due to Drug Influence**	
1.	None	0
2.	Slight:	0
3.	Moderate:	0
4.	Marked:	1

Number Still Using When Incarcerated**
1

* N = percent and absolute frequency

** Recorded only if 3-5 in pattern of use

TABLE IX:

Oral Depressants and Tranquilizers

Age First Used	
1. No use:	68*
2. 8-12 years:	0
3. 13-16 years:	7
4. 17-20 years:	20
5. 21-27 years:	5

Patterns of Use	
1. Tried once or twice:	13
2. Used off and on:	11
3. Used regularly:	1
4. Some dependence:	6
5. Established habit:	1

Length of Use**	
1. 1-3 months:	0
2. 4-6 months:	2
3. 7 months to 1 year:	1
4. 1-2 years:	2
5. 3-4 years:	3
6. 5-8 years:	0

Estimate of Impairment due to Drug Influence**	
1. None:	0
2. Slight:	0
3. Moderate:	5
4. Marked:	3

Number Still Using When Incarcerated**
2

* N= percent and absolute frequency

** Recorded only if 3-5 in pattern of use

TABLE X:

Oral Stimulants

Age First Used	
1. No use:	94*
2. 8-12 years:	0
3. 13-16 years:	1
4. 17-20 years:	4
5. 21-27 years:	1

Pattern of Use	
1. Tried once or twice:	4
2. Used off and on:	2
3. Used regularly:	0
4. Some dependence:	0
5. Established habit:	0

Length of Use**	
1. 1-3 months:	0
2. 4-6 months:	0
3. 7 months to 1 year:	0
4. 1-2 years:	0
5. 3-4 years:	0
6. 5-8 years:	0

Estimate of Impairment due to Drug Influence**	
1. None:	0
2. Slight:	0
3. Moderate:	0
4. Marked:	0

Number Still Using When Incarcerated**
0

* N = percent and absolute frequency

** Recorded only if 3-5 in pattern of use

TABLE XI:

I.V. Methedrine

Age First Used	
1. No Use:	57*
2. 8-12 years:	0
3. 13-16 years:	2
4. 17-20 years:	25
5. 21-27 years:	16

Pattern of Use	
1. Tried once or twice:	7
2. Used off and on	16
3. Used regularly:	2
4. Some dependence:	10
5. Established habit:	8

Length of Use**	
1. 1-3 months:	1
2. 4-6 months:	1
3. 7 months to 1 year:	3
4. 1-2 years:	8
5. 3-5 years:	6
6. 5-8 years:	1

Estimate of Impairment due to Drug Influence**	
1. None:	0
2. Slight:	0
3. Moderate:	3
4. Marked:	17

Number Still Using When Incarcerated**
14

* N = percent and absolute frequency

** Recorded only if 3-5 in pattern of use

I.V. = Intravenous

TABLE XII:

I.V. Heroin

Age First Used	
1. No Use:	41*
2. 8-12 years:	0
3. 13-16 years:	6
4. 17-20 years:	33
5. 21-27 years:	20

Pattern of Use	
1. Tried once or twice:	6
2. Used off and on:	11
3. Used regularly:	3
4. Some dependence:	6
5. Established habit:	33

Length of Use**	
1. 1-3 months:	0
2. 4-6 months:	0
3. 7 months to 1 year:	7
4. 1-2 years:	20
5. 3-4 years:	12
6. 5-8 years:	3

Estimate of Impairment due to Drug Influence**	
1. None:	0
2. Slight:	0
3. Moderate:	12
4. Marked:	30

Number Still Using When Incarcerated**
42

* N = percent and absolute frequency

** Recorded only if 3-5 in pattern of use

I.V. = Intravenous

TABLE XIII:

Alcohol

Age First Used

1.	No Use:	6
2.	8-12 years:	18
3.	13-16 years:	55
4.	17-20 years:	19
5.	21-27 years:	2

Pattern of Use

1.	Tried once or twice:	1
2.	Used off and on:	38
3.	Used regularly:	4
4.	Some dependence:	27
5.	Established habit:	24

Length of Use**

1.	1-3 months:	0
2.	4-6 months:	1
3.	7 months to 1 year:	2
4.	1-2 years:	7
5.	3-4 years:	22
6.	5 or more years:	23

Estimate of Impairment due to Drug Influence**

1.	None:	1
2.	Slight:	2
3.	Moderate:	23
4.	Marked:	29

Number Still Using When Incarcerated**

32

* N = percent and absolute frequency

** Recorded only if 3-5 in pattern of use

TELEVISION VIEWING DATA

Exposure

The hours of television exposure as a child, adolescent, and adult are given in Table XIV.

As to the trend in watching from childhood to adulthood, sixty-one showed a decrease and ten an increase.

Television Preferences

Table XV contains a listing of various types of shows and the mean value and standard deviation of the responses on the following scale:

1	2	3
Not much watching	Watch sometimes	Watch often

Television Favorites

Table XVI contains a listing and comparison of favorite types of programming in childhood, adolescence and adulthood.

Table XVII contains a listing of favorite types of movies at present.

Table XVIII contains a listing of specific favorite television shows at present. To compile this section each subject was asked what his three favorite shows are. They are listed according to overall preference.

TABLE XIV:

Hours per day of Television Exposure

	Child	Adolescent	Adult
1. 0-2 hours	5*	18	42
2. 3-4 hours:	24	41	31
3. 5-6 hours:	37	26	10
4. 7-8 hours:	18	7	8
5. 9-12 hours:	14	8	7
6. Over 12:	2	0	2

* N= percent and absolute frequency

TABLE XV:

Inventory of Television Preferences

1 Not Much — 2 Some — 3 Often

Type of Program	Mean	S.D.
Boxing	2.590	.621
Wrestling	1.890	.803
Football	2.210	.832
Basketball	2.220	.786
Track	1.566	.715
Roller Derby	2.090	.780
Auto Racing	1.690	.787
Skiing	1.380	.678
Golf	1.160	.420
Tennis	1.200	.449
Variety Shows	2.520	.659
Rock Music Shows	2.810	.506
Classical Music Shows	1.460	.642
Country and Western Music	1.250	.500
Family Comedy	2.260	.747
Stand-Up Comedy	2.720	.604
Medical Shows	2.060	.776
News	2.510	.659
Documentaries	2.020	.816
Police Shows	2.690	.581
Lawyer Shows	2.540	.673
War Shows	2.460	.731
Westerns	2.730	.510

TABLE XV:

(Continued)

Type of Program	Mean	S.D.
Quiz Shows	1.750	.672
Soap Operas	1.310	.581
Horror Shows	2.440	.715
Science Fiction	2.510	.643
Cartoons	2.310	.800
Movies	2.810	.394

Number of cases = 100

TABLE XVI:

Favorite Types of Shows

Type	Child	Adolescent	Adult
1. War	4*	4	0
2. Western	35	14	3
3. Spy	0	5	0
4. Gangster	8	15	8
5. Police	2	15	28
6. Love	0	1	0
7. Soap Operas	0	1	1
8. Horror	6	4	0
9. Science Fiction	0	1	2
10. Cartoons	33	4	0
11. News	0	0	3
12. Family Comedy	5	4	2
13. Stand-Up Comedy	0	0	8
14. Variety Shows	0	3	26
15. Dancing and Live Music	2	14	0
16. Sports	0	2	3
17. Lawyers	0	0	1
18. Quiz Shows	0	1	0
19. Other	1	1	0
20. None	4	11	5

* N = percent and absolute frequency

TABLE XVII:

Favorite Types of Movies

Type	Frequency
1. Drama and Suspense	23*
2. Gangster	23
3. Westerns	21
4. War	8
5. Historical	8
6. Adventure	5
7. Horror	4
8. Sex	3
9. Science Fiction	2
10. Love	2
11. Other	1

* N - percent and absolute frequency

TABLE XVIII:

Favorite Television Shows*

1.	Flip Wilson	56
2.	Mod Squad	44
3.	It Takes a Thief	18
4.	Wild Wild West	12
5.	Soul Train	12
6.	Sports	12
7.	Star Trek	11
8.	Mission Impossible	9
9.	Georgie Woods	9
10.	The FBI	8
11.	Ironside	7
12.	News	6
13.	Doctor Shock (local)	5
14.	Hawaii Five-O	4
15.	Ed Sullivan	4
16.	Beverly Hillbillies	4
17.	Laugh-In	4
18.	NYPD	3
19.	Marcus Welby	3
20.	Other	25
21.	No response	41**

* To compile this table each subject was asked to discuss his three favorite television shows

**41 - missing responses out of 300 possibles

TV Effects and Attitudes

The subjects were asked a series of straight questions regarding the effect of TV on them and their attitude toward certain aspects of television. The results are as follows:

21 never discuss what they see on TV
35 turn away from shows they don't like
35 have felt put down or left out by TV
46 have been aroused sexually by TV
79 have been angered by TV content
52 felt TV has changed their thoughts or beliefs
64 have found TV horrifying or scary (ref. horrow shows)
41 have had nightmares about monsters as a result of seeing horror pictures.

Imitation of Characters

63 reported that they have imitated characters seen on TV. A breakdown follows. Most of these imitations were done when the subjects were younger; however, many of the men still imitate Flip Wilson.

37 have imitated no characters
25 Flip Wilson
8 super heroes
9 James Cagney
6 cowboys
2 Humphrey Bogart
2 Elliot Ness
2 Ed Sullivan
1 Al Capone
8 others

Impressions from Television

Table XIX contains a summary and comparison of the subjects' responses to questions about their impressions of the handling of various topics on television. This section is highly subjective at best, but is felt to provide an initial, useful approach to reactions to certain televised materials.

TABLE XIX:

A Comparison of Impressions from Television

	Love	Sex	Death	Killers	Drugs	Doctors	Lawyers	Cops
1. No Impression	10	13	18	13	6	17	10	2
2. Don't Watch It	4	5			1	5		1
3. Neutral	1	2	8	4	2	5	1	3
4. Realistic	9	5		7	12	9	9	7
5. Bigger - Better than life	4	2	1			14	19	18
6. Just a job								4
7. Phoney - Unrealistic	27	18	12			4	7	17
8. Like them/it	18	19	4	10	1	2	12	24
9. Don't like them/it	4	3	10	8	21	3	2	
10. Have learned from it	4	5	1	3	15	2	4	
11. Sad - Sorry - Upset	2		11	2	3	2		
12. If he deserved it - O.K.			3	8				
13. Good impression	4	3		3		35	26	4
14. Bad impression		1		1	4	1	1	3
15. Mixed Feelings	5	1	4	3	2	1	4	10
16. Too much on	1	2	8	10	5			
17. Makes me curious		1		2	10		1	
18. It's hidden	5	18			1			
19. Always justified			5	6				1
20. Some are Uncle Toms								
21 Scary			4	2	1			
22. Senseless				1				
23. Not the truth					8			2

TABLE XIX:

(Continued)

	Love	Sex	Death	Killings	Drugs	Doctors	Lawyers	Cops
24. Identify with it					1			
25. Always win - right							4	4
26. Just getting a chance								
27. Have been mistreated								
28. Wish or want it	2							

TABLE XIX:

(Continued)

	Prisons	Blacks	Whites	Indians	Politi-cians	Rich	Poor
1. No Impression	7	5	12	11	11	16	5
2. Don't Watch It	3				23	1	1
3. Neutral	5	8	13	3	2	4	7
4. Realistic	9	7	10	4		4	2
5. Bigger - Better than life	8		2			1	
6. Just a job		2	6	2	1		
7. Phoney - Unrealistic	19	6	3	3	11	2	3
8. Like them/it		11	8	14	1	4	5
9. Don't like them/it	20	1	2	3	22	12	3
10. Have learned from it				1	2		
11. Sad - Sorry - Upset	1			3		1	43
12. If he deserved it - O.K.						3	
13. Good impression	1	17	12	8	1	3	8
14. Bad impression	5	1	1	6	7	6	3
15. Mixed feelings	10	9	9	17	2	9	3
16. Too much on				9			
17. Makes me curious	1						
18. It's hidden	4				1		1
19. Always justified	1			2			
20. Some are Uncle Toms		10					
21. Scary				1			1
22. Senseless				1			
23. Not the truth	4				5	1	

TABLE XIX:

(Continued)

	Prisons	Blacks	Whites	Indians	Politicians	Rich	Poor
24. Identify with it	4	1					8
25. Always win - Right			3		5	21	
26. Just getting a chance		17		2			1
27. Have been mistreated		5		35			6
28. Wish or want it						20	

Crimes from Television

Twenty-two of the subjects reported trying criminal techniques seen on television. The source for twenty of these men was "It Takes a Thief", a show in which the criminal succeeds at well-thought-out, daring crimes. Only three of the men reported failing or getting caught while using television-inspired techniques.

Another twenty-two related that they have contemplated committing crimes seen on television, and seven men have stolen things seen on television - usually clothes.

Other Media Influences

Table XX gives a history of entertainment and media influences other than television, and the extent to which they influenced the subject - along the following scale.

1	2	3
No influence	Some influence	A lot of influence

Also included in the table are data on what each man felt was, for him, the strongest influence.

TABLE XX

Inventory of Influences

1	2	3
No influence	Some influence	A lot of influence

Influence	Mean	S.D.	Strongest Influence
1. Movies	2.390*	.601	3**
2. Plays	1.260	.505	2
3. Sports	1.970	.822	10
4. Radio	2.860	.349	14
5. Books	2.260	.719	17
6. Magazines	2.370	.661	2
7. Records	2.650	.642	19
8. Television			33

* All figures were calculated for 100 cases

** N - percent and absolute frequency

Learned from Television

Each subject was asked what he felt he had learned from television. A breakdown of the responses* follows:

12 felt they had learned nothing

23 felt they had picked up general knowledge

22 have learned various aspects of criminal technique

7 that crime doesn't pay

17 how to get along with all types of people

6 about sports

13 felt that television lies and cannot be taken as real

Major Criminal Influences

To the question, "Why do you get in trouble?" the subjects responded as follows:

23 felt it was the people they knew

12 felt they have been given a bum rap

14 felt drugs were the reason

10 because they needed money

10 because of being in a gang

9 because of their home situation

7 because of alcohol

15 blamed themselves

* Some responded to both the second and fifth items

N = percent and absolute frequency

COMMENTARY

Criminality and Violence:

The preceding data provided us with an initial profile of developmental and personality factors in young male offenders, with particular reference to their histories of violence, and patterns of television viewing. The age of the sample was increased to allow for comparisons between adolescent and young adult male offenders. The ages ranged from sixteen to twenty-seven, with 77 of the subjects within the ages of ninetten to twenty-three, of whom 45 were 21 to 23 years of age and 32 were 16 to 20. All of these subjects grew up with exposure to television from earliest childhood on.*

We find that we are dealing largely with an urban, black, ghetto population, 54% of the subjects being born in the Philadelphia area. Twenty-one percent were born in the South, and 3% in the West. There were no significant differences in the availability of television sets to those who were born in the South in comparison with those reared in the urban Philadelphia area.

The current criminal charges were for highly serious crimes in 97% of this research population. The remaining 3% were held on drug charges. These materials indicate that there is no consistent correlation between the present charge or the length of the past criminal record, and the offender's actual history of violent behavior from childhood through young adulthood. This comes as no surprise to experienced correctional workers and forensic behavioral scientists. It is not unusual to encounter young offenders with very serious arrest and conviction records who were much less ready to engage in violent behavior than other young offenders with less serious officeial records. The dictum is that the nature of the crime must be differentiated from the nature of the criminal.

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* All one hundred subjects reported having television sets in their homes from the early nineteen-fifties on.

In this group of one hundred serious offenders with a high propensity for violence, 26% had no arrests as a juvenile, 33% had no convictions, and 42% never served time in an institution for any crime. Thirty-one percent of the sample had been arrested from one to three times and 60% had been convicted one to three times. Eighty-five percent had less than three years in institutions as a juvenile. These figures reflect recent sentencing procedures which seek alternatives to institutionalization, under various conditions of probation.

Despite the infrequency of arrests in comparison to offenses, particularly in some high crime areas, it is noteworthy that 48% had at least one arrest for a crime of violence against a person as a juvenile. In addition, 54% had at least one arrest for serious burglary charges, or other crimes against property. Five percent of the subjects had at least one arrest for a violent sex crime. These inmates typically sought to differentiate forcible rape from statutory rape, insisting that the victim was a willing partner. This finding with respect to rape is consistent with our previous experiences in dealing with numbers of such offenders whose versions remain understandably at odds with those of the official record.

In offender research, we find again that official arrest records do not give a clear picture of the antisocial or criminal activities of the subjects.*

Seventeen percent of the young men and adolescents had been arrested at least once for carrying a concealed and deadly weapon, with one of the subjects having been arrested more than six times for such offenses! With respect to violence, 85% of the subjects had arrest records for crimes against persons, with more admitting that they had committed such crimes without having been arrested at other times.

Turning to drug abuse, increasingly connected with serious crime, 25% of the subjects had actually been arrested at one time on drug charges.

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* These discrepancies are especially noteworthy in such areas as drug offenses and assaults. For example, only 7% of the subjects were ever arrested for drug use as juveniles in contrast to more than 39% who feely admitted using heroin over significant periods of time, and a total of 76% who reported overall significant drug abuse.

This figure compared to 76% of the subjects who admitted and described a serious drug abuse.

As a related note, we had been impressed in the past with the automobile driving practices and habits of youthful and young adult offenders.* We note with some interest that despite the fact that more than 90% of the subjects drove cars regularly, only 20% had valid driver's licenses, and a substantial number never applied for one.

The figures relating to family background, point to a higher order of social stability during the formative years of childhood and early adolescence than we would have anticipated from our general experience with offender populations. This finding reaffirmed our experiences with the initial group of thirty-five violent teen-age offenders in whom we also found a higher than anticipated percentage of intact families. It is rather noteworthy that in the present study of one hundred young adults and adolescent offenders, 61% lived with both parents during their childhood, 49% lived with both parents during their adolescence, and 47% of the young adults reported their parents as still living together.

These same subjects came generally from large families (some as many as twelve children), with the mean number of siblings at 4.87. One third of the subjects were the oldest child of the family, 29% were the second child, 17% the third child, with the balance being strung out in diminishing order.

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* Adolescents see the automobile as a symbol of liberation, power and a beginning confirmation of the rights and privileges of adulthood. The use of the automobile has been described some as an American tribal rite, confirming status on the recipient of this privilege.

With reference to further factors noteworthy in this offender population, the mother was the dominant figure in the home in 58%. In only 9% was there any indication that the father was the dominant person in the family, a finding consistent with the inmate's own subjective feelings, as well. This bears out the much discussed tendency for black ghetto youth to be reared in essentially matriarchal homes. Thirty-eight percent of these families were supported by welfare, and 53% were supported by one or both parents.

With respect to the Glueck[36] Prediction Tables for Delinquency, 85% of these offenders conceptualized their mothers as having been loving individuals, and 55% spoke in such terms about their fathers. Only 2% indicated that their mothers were rejecting and hostile, whereas 10% condemned their fathers as such. These figures are consistent with the known tendency of youghful offenders and young adult criminals to idealize both parents, but especially the mother - sometimes in terms of outright sentimentality.

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[36] Glueck, S. and Glueck, E., "Predicting Delinquency and Crime", Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1967.

The fact that 95% of these offenders had grown up in central urban areas, associated with above average to very high rates of crime, appears to be intertwined with their own juvenile gang activities. More than 74% of the subjects have been active members in juvenile gang life, a factor most frequently found in the most violent offenders whom we studied. Further analysis indicated that those young men who, for whatever groups of reasons, were able to avoid gang membership, or who were members for only short periods of time, did not engage in as much actual physical violence as those who were gang members over a sustained period of their teen-age development.

The etiological factors associated with neighborhood, level of crime activity, and gang membership appeared to have extended beyond the single generation of the offenders whom we studied. For example, 49% of the subjects had brothers or fathers (rarely sisters or mothers) with a criminal record of some significance. Twenty-five percent of the subjects had fathers or brothers who had been engaged in major criminal activities.

Regarding educational background, school disciplinary problems and employment records, the findings reveal a significant degree of difficulties in these areas. The problems noted over a long period of time in school and in vocational efforts are determined by multiple factors, including ego and charcterological impairment, as well as emotional and economic deprivation and the environmental handicaps of ghetto-bred poverty.

As noted in Chart IV, there is a high degree of injuries received and inflicted in the histories of these violent persons. This would indicate, for our sample at least, that violence is a two-way street.

CONCLUSIONS

Hostility and Violence

As life is cheap in some parts of the world, so assault is common in the inner city, and particularly in the ghetto. Have these prisoners been injured much, and to what extent have they themselves been the victim of violence? We divided the injuries sustained by the prisoners into those received as juveniles, and those received during the adult period of their lives. In addition, we distinguished between injuries from blunt instruments, knives and guns.

As juveniles, 23% of these inmates had sustained a serious blow with a blunt instrument, 44% had been stabbdd and 15% had been shot as juveniles. As adults, 15% had been hit with blunt instruments, 24% had been stabbed and 10% had been shot. These figures covered a five year period of adolescence (16-20), and roughly a five year period of adult experience (21-27). It is clear that they received or sustained more injuries as juveniles than they did as adults.

The level of hostility and rage turned against the self in the form of depression or despair is reflected in the figures for self-injury. Two of the subjects had survived overdoses of drugs, taken purposefully. Four had seriously cut or stabbed themselves. Two had made hanging attempts, and one suffered a self-inflicted gunshot would in a suicide attempt.

In terms of hostility meted out, as a measure of physical violence directed against others, 30% of the subjects, as juveniles, had struck someone seriously with a blunt instrument. Twenty-eight percent had stabbed someone and 23% had shot someone during their juvenile period! As adults, only 7% had hit someone with a blunt instrument, 10% had stabbed someone, and 15% had shot someone.

Although still highly lethal, these figures illustrate a dramatic decrease in the level of violence inflicted upon other people as these adolescents reached young adulthood. There is also some indication that the weapons assaults, decreasing from 61% in adolescence to 31% in young adulthood, reflect a marked decrease in the use of blunt instruments (less than one-fourth as often as they were used by this group as juveniles). There was a lesser decrease in the use of knives (about one-third as often as they were used in adolescence), and an even smaller comparative decrease in the use of guns (less than a 50% decrease). There are multiple factors reflected in these figures, but it is obvious that when these offenders do violence as adults, they find guns and knives more available to them than they did as juveniles, and they would appear to prefer the use of guns.

As a further measure of violent propensity, it was the rare offender who had not been in a number of fist fights. Over 55% of the men had been in more than sixteen serious fights as adolescents, and the number of such serious fights (as distinguished from practice, play or athletic boxing), was frequently in excess of two-hundred; or something in the order of a serious fist-fight every week or ten days of the four years of adolescence.

Drugs have been a matter of increasing community concern as they relate to criminality. Moreover, a number of drugs, particularly methedrine, the amphetamines and alcohol are associated with periods of increased agitation, pugnacity and violence. Accordingly, a detailed study was made of drug abuse in these offenders, as described in Tables V through XIII.

Whereas 65% of the inmates indicated that they had used marijuana prior to the age of twenty, only 16% had used it regularly, or established a heavy habit. Only three out of the marijuana users felt that it had markedly impaired their social adjustment, but 11 others regarded it as having moderately impaired their judgement, determination or ambition. Only six of the men indicated that marijuana had contributed in any significant way to their criminal or antisocial behavior.

Table XVII describes the patterns of use of intravenous methedrine or "speed", a particularly dangerous drug. Forty-three percent have used methedrine from time to time, and 20% of the men had used it regularly. Seventeen percent of our sample had been markedly impaired by the abuse of this drug. Over 15% of the men felt that methedrine had contributed significantly to their criminal behavior, as a causal or associated factor, and indicated that they engaged in criminal activities over and beyond their regular propensities in order to support a methedrine habit.

Table XII describes the experiences of these young offenders with heroin. Six percent had started its use prior to the age of sixteen, and an additional 33% used it before the age of twenty. Forty-two percent of these offenders had heavy involvement with heroin or an established habit. Forty-one percent regarded heroin as contributing significantly to their criminal activities in order to support their habit.

The figures relating to alcohol (Table XIII) are illuminating, and consistent with our past experience with offenders. It is clear that the use of alcohol begins much earlier than the use of other drugs, with 18% of our sample using it prior to the age of twelve. Another 55% of these inmates used alcohol between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, and by age twenty over 90% of the group used alcohol at least off and on (usually on binges or sprees). Over half of the group could be regarded as serious or severe alcoholics by any definition.

Twenty-nine percent of the men were markedly impaired by alcoholic abuse with respect to judgemental, social and vocational inadequacies. Another 23% were moderately disabled for significant periods of time during each month because of intoxication, hangovers, or general emotional and physical debilitation. Close to 40% of these men had committed crimes while under the influence of alcohol. With alcohol readily available, and at least in some of its forms relatively cheap, only 17% of these men had been involved in crimes to obtain whiskey money.

We are dealing, in brief review, with a highly violent group of men who reveal common patterns of social and environmental impairment, a high level of teen-age gang involvement, a remarkable history of injuries sustained and meted out, including an impressive number involving the use of weapons, and a high level of drug abuse, with alcohol being of relatively greater importance than is generally publicized.

Patterns of Television Viewing in Violent Criminals

As noted previously, all one hundred subjects reported having access to working television sets in their homes throughout their lives, and in many cases there were multiple sets.

Television viewing ranged from two to three hours per day, to over twelve hours; with the majority watching five to six hours per day, during their childhood. As expected, it was the rare inmate who had experienced any kind of parental censorship with respect to programs watched during childhood.

We found a decrease in television viewing during adolescence and adulthood, consistent with published reports of other researchers. The majority of adolescents watched three to four hours per day, and the fall off in adulthood was relatively small. (See Table XIV, page 117). It is perhaps significant that over 25% of the adult offenders watched television more than five to six hours per day, a figure related, perhaps, to joblessness as much as anything else.

Table XV on page 118 ranks the preferences of these offenders for particular types of television programs. In order, the offenders preferred rock music shows, televised movies, westerns, stand-up comedy, police shows, boxing and news. Science fiction and horror shows also ranked high among their preferences. These findings are consistent with a high level of interest in violence, crime and the spectacular, as well as with an ethnic interest in certain music and humor.

As clearly indicated in Table XVI on page 120, by far the favorite programs which these inmates watched as children were westerns and cartoons. During adolescence they tended to prefer gangster, police, live dancing and music shows, as well as a continued preference for shoot-em-up westerns.

As young adults, their favorites were police shows and variety shows (with variety shows perhaps replacing the cartoon interest of childhood?) Some 11% of the men expressed no preference for particular types of television shows during their adolescence. We felt that this was indicative of a significant degree of reactive or appropriate depression, associated with their present involvement with the law and its institutions.

It was revelatory to discuss individual current shows with these inmates, to learn about their preferences for particular shows and the reasons why. Table XVIII (page 122) rank orders their favorite, current television shows. The top ten on their Hit Parade represent an interesting mixture. The socio-psychological determinants of this interst in particular shows could be, in themselves, the subject of a sociological essay. Ethnic interest is a strong factor. There was, for example, frank pride for, (and identification with) Flip Wilson, whose antics were meaningful and pleasurable to the point that his particular show was the all out leader.

The popularity of "Mod Squad" and "It Takes A Thief" was expected. Both of these programs were related to the high degree of interest these inmates had in televised portrayals of offenses, detection and apprehension. Some of the untoward instructional or demonstrational aspects of "It Takes A Thief" have been noted before, particularly with respect to television and learning.

In a further attempt to explore the attitudes, feelings and responses of these inmates toward television viewing, a series of direct questions was put to them. (See page 123.)

With regard to the 21% who never discuss what they see on television, these were men who impressed the interviewers as generally not given to discussing much of anything. Such inmates were seen as inwardly-turned persons, who had not experienced the stimulation of non-argumentative discussion during their childhood and adolescence. For them, discussion often meant interrogation. They were unable to argue verbally, or easily express differences of opinion in social interchange. If pressed for an opinion, they mumbled, or resorted to silence. One would guess that if pressed on their own turf, the argument would be swiftly ended with a punch in the nose.

We wondered how many of our inmate population sat passively in front of a program, whether they particularly liked it or not. Only somewhat more than a third of them turned away from shows that they did not like, leaving someone else in the room to watch, or simply attending to some other piece of business or interest, leaving the set on. It would be interesting to compare this behavior with that of the general viewing public. We are under the impression, however, that these men have a somewhat higher degree of passivity, and acceptance of television as background [illegible]

This passivity is contributed to by years of familiarity with the set which was, for a number of these men during childhood and adolescence, one of their few alternatives to loneliness and boredom - a kind of talkative, entertaining representative of the adult world, and for a time, the promise of a better (materialistic) world.

As children, they saw what other people had, and hoped that in due course they might have these things too, experiencing adventure, travel, excitement and the feeling of importance they attributed to the characters they watched on television. It was with some disappointment that a number have turned away from this childhood electronic friend, talking on now in its senescence, tolerated like an old grandmother droning in the background.

As time went on, and these young offenders realized increasingly the disparity between what they saw on television and what they saw in their own lives, individualized reactions set in. Thirty-five of the men reported, for example, that they felt put down or left out by television programming. The more verbal, intellectual and political-action oriented ones condemned television as irrelevant for the times, superficial and demonstrably racist. Most of the men, however, did not formulate their criticisms in terms of bitterness, but simply voiced a kind of disappointment in the set which had seemed to beam so many promises of good things in their childhood - promises which for them had not come true.

Their feelings were, however, by no means entirely negative about television. Over half (52%) felt that television had changed their thoughts or beliefs, and had been instrumental in their education. It had increased their familiarity with the world, and broadened their outlook on life. They cited a number of prosocial lessons, not only in such obvious areas as the news and documentaries, but in language, vocabulary and diction. Of particular interest to them are the accompanying verbal descriptions of what the watcher views on television. This is somewhat like the teacher pointing to an apple, and saying the word "apple" - amplified to the ultimate degree in the comments of sportscasters, for example, in which a series of intricate plays is viewed while the commentator formulates these actions into word-pictures. For a number of these inmates, these kinds of television lessons are the closest they have come to composition and creative listening.

Drama, as well, has served to externalize, demonstrate and place on the external screen a number of their own inner conflicts which they view as common human problems in the lives of many people. Often seen in sentimental terms, these television experiences are for a number of these men the only opportunity they have to participate (if only as spectators) in the reasonable discussions by other people (dramatic actors) of shared problems with which the inmate is able to personally identify. These shared experiences have changed the inmates' thoughts and beliefs, and indicate the degree of susceptibility or hunger they have for relating to a Walter Cronkite or Harry Reasoner of their own.

Television has been able to arouse a variety of feelings in these men. Almost 80% of them report that they have been angered by television content. Examples include strong feelings of inadequate representation of black problems and issues, such as poverty and racial prejudice. Much of the anger however, is connected with the inevitable feelings of disappointment referred to previously, of promises unkept, of disillusionment with self, and the world about them. As kings in times of old are said to have occasionally put to death the bearers of bad tidings, television has risked a similar fate as the bearer of disappointing news for a number of these men.

Of further interest with respect to the attitudes of these violent offenders regarding television, not only do significant numbers express disappointment, but fully 15% to 20% condemn the airways as phony. They particularly condemn as phony television's handling of the subjects of love, sex, police, prisoners and the public televised utterings of politicians. They feel that lawyers, police and to some extent, doctors, are portrayed as bigger and better kinds of persons than they turn out to be in real life. Again, they have learned their lesson at the price of disillusionment, and the pain of disappointment.

Table XIX (on pages 125-8) attempts to set down some of the parameters of inmates' impressions of the handling of various subjects in television portrayal.

Detailed studies of this type would be enormously rewarding in continuing to explore the impact of television on the violent offender, and upon the criminal in general. In this connection, we have been impressed more with the prosocial effects of television upon this population than with its negative effects, particularly those of demonstration and instruction, which will be discussed next.

It will be recalled that in our pilot sample of thirty-five teenage offenders (Project III), twelve had copied techniques of crimes they had seen portrayed on television. This is in contrast to any causal, or basic motivational relationship to criminal behavior. This finding, understandably, merited careful follow-up in the intensive investigations of the one hundred adolescent and young adult prisoners in Project IV. As indicated in the data, twenty-two of the men had imitated or tried out criminal techniques they had seen demonstrated on television.

Certainly, this finding will continue to warrant additional investigation in our ongoing studies to see if it is sustained. It represents an aspect of television programming which can be modified by appropriate responses on the part of industry, writers, directors and editors.

Further, careful and intensive studies by experienced forensic psychiatrists and clinical investigators are indicated. The offender research project provides a methodology for establishing a violence profile and a television viewing profile through which the inter-relationships between media-portrayed violence, and acted-out violence may continue to be explored. We have found that reliable data can be obtained by skillful interviewers in a prison population.* The results of such interviews and data collection methods can provide much better guides to the violence readiness of the offender than any official police record of arrests and convictions.

A significant number of our subjects, already embarked on a criminal career that was predetermined by multiple etiologic factors explored in the background and developmental data section, consciously recall and relate having imitated techniques of crimes which they had previously seen on television. For such men, until proven otherwise, detailed portrayals of criminal techniques must be viewed as a learning process. If detailed information is offered them about crimes, then such young men can be expected to learn from this experience. While the subjects were aware of imitating criminal techniques they had seen portrayed on television, none of them ascribed, nor does the data warrant ascribing, any causative role to television viewing. It was their conviction that they would, in all probability, have engaged in the same pursuits, but that their style was influenced to some degree by previously having watched skillful experts perform similar tasks on television.

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* See footnotes, pages 82 and 89, Project III.

PROJECT V:

MEASUREMENTS OF AGGRESSION IN RESPONSES OF ADOLESCENT AND YOUNG ADULT OFFENDERS TO TELEVISION VIOLENCE

In continuing our investigations of offenders as a third vulnerable population or Group C*, we undertook a further testing program, matching the methodologies of Projects I and II.

Group C consisted of one hundred thirty-five young offenders, ranging in age from sixteen to twenty-seven, with a mean age of twenty-two. The additional offenders in this study were similar in ethnic, developmental, socio-economic and criminal background to the one hundred adolescents and young adults described in Project IV. (See pages 97 - 100.) These men were selected at random, in similar fashion to the one hundred young offenders who were the subjects of the research in Project IV, involving the use of the interview and data-collection guide. The high incidence of violence in present charges, past arrests, conviction and incarceration records, as well as their day-to-day behavior, matched those of the one hundred offenders described in Project IV.

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* In addition to Groups A and B in Projects I and II. The rationale was to proceed directly to studies of populations most likely to be vulnerable to any untoward effects of televised violence: (A) Emotionally Impaired children, (B) Children of Broken Homes, and (C) Known Violent persons.

METHODOLOGY

Following the procedures described on pages 16 through 35 (Project I), these inmates viewed representative television fare which had been previously studied and classified as containing minimal, moderate or maximal amounts of violence. The minimal violence programs included a number of educational programs from the McGraw-Hill series, such as "Meet Comrade Student", "To Be Black", "American Music - From Folk to Jazz to Pop". Moderate and maximal violent programs included shows from such series as *Felony Squad*, the *FBI* and the *Guns of Will Sonnett*.

In addition, a special newsreel was assembled, made up of recent violent events. This violent television news composite included scenes of demonstrators and students battling police, action shots of the Vietnam War, showing a number of dead bodies, and additional civil riot scenes involving the use of tear gas and close-up shots of a bloody demonstrator handcuffed on the ground.

Measurements

The Sears Aggression Scales, described on pages 21 to 24 in Project I, were given to each of the one hundred thirty-five subjects at the beginning of Project V and at its end.

The individual program measures, applied after viewing each television program, included the Reactions Test, described earlier on page 32, Project I. In the Reactions Test the offender responded to a form that listed thirteen behavioral manifestations, of which seven were non-aggressive and six were aggressive. A preference for an aggressive behavioral choice received a score.

In addition to the Reactions Test, as a further individual program measure, the subject was administered a Recall test previously described on page 33 (Project I). The subjects were also given the Activities Test. This test consisted of twelve groups of activities with each group containing three choices. One of these three activities could be identified as distinctly more aggressive than the other two choices. Another program measure used was the Preference Rating, a measure of the degree of liking for each program (see page 32, Project I). The final program measure used was called Elicited Feelings, described on page 33, Project I.

FINDINGS

Project V utilized a number of the measurements and scales previously applied in Projects 1 and II to the children in Groups A and B. When applied to the one hundred thirty-five youthful and young adult offenders, the following data were obtained and presented in Tables I - IV.

TABLE I:

SEARS AGGRESSION SCALES

Pre-Post Group Scores
(N=107)

	Pre		Post		Pre x Post		
	M	S.D.	M	S.D.	t	df	p
Aggression Anxiety	6.99	1.90	6.78	2.20	.76	212	> .05
Projected Aggression	6.06	2.38	6.17	2.46	-.34	212	> .05
Self Aggression	2.00	1.21	2.09	1.30	-.54	212	> .05
Prosocial Aggression	3.77	1.42	3.91	1.64	-.66	212	> .05
Antisocial Aggression	4.87	1.70	5.04	1.55	-.75	212	> .05

M = Mean   S.D. = Standard Deviation

A series of t tests was conducted and no significant pre-post differences were found in any subscale on the Sears Aggression Scales.

TABLE II:

REACTIONS TEST

Group Scores After Viewing

Min., Mod. and Max. Violent Programs

(N=107)

	Min	Mod	Max
M.	6.98	6.81	7.02
S.D.	1.92	1.60	1.99

M = Mean   S.D. = Standard Deviation

A simple analysis of variance was performed and no significant differences were found in expressed desires to commit aggressive acts after viewing either minimally, moderately or maximally violent programs (F=.374, df=2, p >.05)

TABLE III:

RECALL TEST

Group Scores After Viewing Min.,
Mod. and Max. Violent Programs
(N=107)

	Min.	Mod.	Max.
M.	.30	1.08	1.33
S.D.	.57	.84	1.03

M = Mean S.D. = Standard Deviation

A simple analysis of variance was performed which indicated significant differences occured in the amount of recall as a result of program violence (F=43.72, df=2, $p < .01$). Significantly more aggressive incidents were recalled after viewing moderately violent programs (t=-7.88, df=212, $p < .01$) and maximally violent programs (t=-9.00, df=212, $p < .01$) than after viewing programs containing minimal violence. There were no significant differences in recall of aggressive incidents between moderately and maximally violent programs (t=-1.96, df=212, $p < .05$).

TABLE IV:

ACTIVITIES TEST

Group Scores After Viewing Min.,
Mod. and Max. Violent Programs
(N=107)

	Min.	Mod.	Max.
M	16.55	16.35	16.03
S.D.	6.06	5.76	5.91

M = Mean   S.D. = Standard Deviation

A simple analysis of variance was performed and no significant differences were found in the degree of aggressive activity chosen after viewing programs containing minimal, moderate or maximum violence (F=.21, df=2, p >.05).

TABLE V:

PREFERENCE RATING

Group Scores After Viewing Min.,
Mod. and Max. Violent Programs
(N=107)

	Min.	Mod.	Max.
M	2.20	2.26	2.30
S.D.	.86	.90	.82

M = Mean   S.D. = Standard Deviation

A simple analysis of variance was performed and no significant differences were found in preferences for minimally, moderately or maximally violent programs (F=.39, df=2, p >.05).

TABLE VI:

ELICITED FEELINGS

Group Scores After Viewing Min.,
Mod. and Max. Violent Programs
(N=107)

	Min.	Mod.	Max.
M	4.28	4.09	4.45
S.D.	3.20	2.86	3.13

M = Mean S.D. = Standard Deviation

A simple analysis of variance was performed and no significant differences occured in degree of affect aroused by viewing either minimally, moderately or maximally violent programs ($F=.36$, $df=2$, $p > .05$).

CONCLUSIONS

In terms of hard statistical significance, the one factor that stood out in all of the tests and measurements of aggression was that adolescent and young adult offenders showed a greater recall of aggressive incidents in response to increased levels of violence in viewed television programs. This finding indicates, quite understandably, that violence had a greater impact upon these subjects when it was made more explicit or forceful on television. This response stands in contrast to any behavioral change. Thus, the only increased measureable response on all of the aggression tests which measured comparative reactions to minimal, moderate or maximal violence, pertained to the specific cognitive factor of memory.

It is further noteworthy that increaseing the intensity of vioelnce from minimal to moderate to maximal had no significant effect on those specific measures which placed a premium on action - the Reactions Test (see Table II), and the Activities Test (see Table IV).

These findings in a third vulnerable population of one hundred thirty-five youthful and young adult offenders lend further credence to the results obtained with Groups A and B in Projects I and II; namely, that an increase in the intensity of television-portrayed violence merely increases the likelihood that this will be recalled on tests of recent memory. Given the background and composition of this sample, with its high percentage of violent offenders charged with crimes against persons, this is a very minimal response to the stimulation afforded by their exposure to violent television programs.

Inasmuch as the salience of televised violence on the memory factor held equally for the children in Groups A and B, these findings do not distinguish the offender group, or make it unique in any way in terms of its aggressive reactions to televised violence. Thus, in this especially vulnerable population of aggressive or violent offenders, televised violence did not precipitate or trigger unusual, over manifestations of violence or aggression.

In confirmation of the pre-post measurement and individual program measures, the group discussions held with these inmates following exposure to each of the violent television shows failed to reveal any evidence of disturbance, agitation or increased readiness to express violence even on a verbal level. The offender group expressed a predilection for the scenes of violence, and confirming the findings in Project I and II, recalled, enumerated and discussed more of these episodes. These findings additionally confirm our conclusions that the responses to televised violence are mediated by cognitive factors and are expressed in the areas of memory and fantasy, in contrast to overt behavior.

A random sample of individual interviews was conducted with every fifth inmate in this group of one hundred thirty-five adolescent and young adult offenders. Accordingly, detailed information was obtained on twenty-seven of them, following the interview and data-collection guide described in Projects III and IV, and reproduced in the Appendix. The data from these interviews revealed these young offenders matched in background, predilection for violent offense, developmental history and background, the one-hundred inmates described in Project IV. Their experiences with, and attitudes toward television parallel those described for the previous matching group. Of the twenty-seven inmates studied intensively through individual interviewing and data collection, five were identified as having imitated or copied techniques of crimes they had seen demonstrated on television. This finding is consistent with that reported earlier. The factor of prosocial learning in this group of culturally and economically deprived offenders was again seen as noteworthy, as described on page 148, Project IV.

PROJECT VI:

PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR, VIOLENCE AND TELEVISION VIEWING HABITS: A PILOT COMPARATIVE STUDY OF NON-OFFENDER ADOLESCENTS AND YOUNG ADULTS

A modest pilot study of promising potential has been intiated as a basis of work in Project III. This work compared results and implications of our studies involving the influence of television in the lives of youthful offenders with findings concerning the influence of television in the lives of similarly aged non-offender populations.

Comparable study of non-offender groups (adolescents and young adults born and reared in the so-called television era) presents intriguing and promising prospects. To explore initial findings in an age-matched group an exploratory pilot study of 100 young men in a small mid-western college was undertaken. The controlled factors in the comparison of this youthful group and the previously studied offender population were specifically limited to age and sex.

We purposely sought to control for only these two characteristics of the offender group in order to initially explore and survey the broadest parameters of variables which could be identified in retrospective studies of the effects of television on youth and young adults. Such retrospective studies should provide a shorter route to findings which otherwise would require impractical, long-term (fifteen year projects), follow-up studies of young children throughout their childhood and adolescence.

In any study pertaining to so broad a question as the influence of television on youth, television viewing may be regarded as providing both general and specific symbolic experiences. The overall issue of the influence of television on behavior therefore addresses itself to two crucial problems: Does any specific symbolic experience (such as a play, a movie or television show) produce or specifically modify a person's real behavior? This immediately introduces the reciprocal question which seeks to explore the influence or role of previous personal experience in the choosing or selection of symbolic experiences (choice of programs within media, as well as a preference for symbolic vs. real experience.)

It has been said that the object of research is the identification of pertinent issues or questions. Each significant answer raises more specific and pertinent questions. Thus, findings re television in the lives of youth raise an entire range of questions concerning the relationships between symbolic and real aspects of the complex communications and entertainment medium.

In pursuit of these questions, the pilot study used as "real experiences" incidents of actual violent behavior, drug use, and personal development as provided in the social history, and contrasted to this, used television viewing patterns or habits as "symbolic experiences".

The data was obtained from two widely divergent samples socially, economically and culturally, but rigidly controlled for age and sex. The common denominator is that each sample of young men shares lifetime access to approximately the same national television programming; and can be expected, therefore, to exhibit differences due to other childhood experiences, socio-economic, sub-cultural and personal developmental factors.

The college sample consisted of 100 male, caucasian students. The approach in the college group paralleled that of the retrospective study of youthful offenders, utilizing a personal interview-questionnaire to obtain developmental and social background, attitudes toward violence, the presence, character and frequency of violent behavior, drug use, attitudes toward television, and childhood television viewing habits.

The interviews followed the standardized questionnaire previously developed in the course of our offender studies, consisting of a series of work sheets for each subject. The questionnaire consisted of two sections, the first dealing with developmental history, drug use and personal record of violent behavior; and the second with the television viewing profile. The students were selected at random from the undergraduate college population.

Initial Findings and Data

Ninety-eight of the students were white and two were of Spanish descent , in comparison to 98 of the offenders being black.

Over 50% of the students came from Eastern cities whereas 75% of the offenders were born in Philadelphia.

The age range of the 100 offenders was 16 to 30, whereas the age range of the students was 18 to 27, with a mean age of 20.5 in comparison with an offender mean age of 22.

With respect to previous arrests, the majority of offenders had been previously arrested two to four times. Rather surprisingly, 22 of the 100 students had been arrested. In 16 cases, the arrests were for group behavior such as demonstrations. Only seven of the students had been convicted. Of these, two were for serious charges, and none were for crimes against persons.

Whereas only half of the offender group came from intact families, 94 of the students came from intact families.

While only one-fourth of the offenders came from families whose reported incomes were over $9,500 a year, the mean family income for the students was $25,000 per year.

Whereas 69 offenders grew up in high crime areas and 73 belonged to youth gangs, only two of the students grew up in high crime areas, and none belonged to gangs.

While only 12 offenders graduated from high school, and only one out of 100 went on to college, all of the students had completed high school and attained college.

Marriage and parenting showed marked differences: Thirteen of the offenders were married, three by common law, and 44 disclosed having children of their own; but only three of the students were married, and only one of these marriages had resulted in one child to date.

Homosexual experiences were less divergent: Fourteen of the offenders reported having had such experiences, and seven of these for money; and 19 of the students also reported having homosexual experiences.

Thus it is seen that a number of personal developmental variables need to be identified in the assessment of comparative incidence of violence and the influence of television viewing experiences on the offender and in comparison with the similarly aged college group. These variable factors, previously commented upon, include differences in subject background, arrest records, family patterns, socio-economic status, environment, education, marital and parenting history, and sexual behavioral patterns.

History of Injuries and Violent Behavior

Whereas it might have been anticipated that the students would be a wholly non-violent group in contrast to the youthful offenders, a small number of students turned out to be personally involved with violence. Four of the students had shot one person, and nine had stabbed one. Seven of the students had been shot, and 13 had been stabbed. This finding is rather startling on the face of it, but quickly becomes understandable with the representation of Vietnamese

War veterans among the student population. In all cases but one, their personal experience with violence was service-related.

By contrast, the offender population, as violent a one as we could find for purposes of our studies, viewed violence as an unavoidable life situation, and reported many injuries inflicted and received as juveniles, particularly in gang-related incidents. The offenders had shot 23 persons, and stabbed 28 persons; 16 of the offenders had been shot, and 34 had themselves been stabbed.

Finally, with reference to hostility turned against one's self, nine of the students had tried to commit suicide, whereas only four of the offenders had made suicidal attempts.

Drug Use:

Drug use was a further parameter explored in both populations. The comparative data for both groups breaks down as follows:

Volatile Liquids (Sniffing)

The predominant pattern of use was to try this once or twice. The few heavy users in each population stopped spontaneously when they became aware that the habit was seriously handicapping them.

Marijuana

While 72 of the offenders had tried marijuana, only 16 had used it regularly. In contrast, 97 of the students had tried marijuana, and 60 of them were using it regularly.

LSD

Whereas 16 of the offenders had tried LSD, only one went on to use it heavily. In contrast, 67 of the students had tried LSD, and 16 had used it regularly for a period of time.

Oral Depressants and Tranquilizers

Comparative data on these drugs, excluding physician-prescribed barbiturates, sedatives and tranquilizers, indicated that more students than offenders had tried these drugs. The figures are not generally comparable because many of the offender population took prescribed sedatives and tranquilizers during their incarceration.

Oral Stimulants

Notably, 71 of the students had tried oral stimulants such as dexedrine, and 49 of them continued their use periodically, particularly as an assist in all-night cramming prior to exams. In contrast, the offender use of oral stimulants was negligible, but intravenous use was far from infrequent.

Methedrine and Heroin

Some 43 of the offenders had administered methedrine intravenously, compared with 12 of the students; and 59 of the offenders had used intravenous heroin, whereas only three of the students had done so. With reference to the relationship between drug use and violence, it is noteworthy that 42 of the violent offenders were active heroin addicts during the time in which their crime was committed. Alcoholic abuse, and intravenous use of methedrine and heroin appear to be prominent precipitating factors in the violent offenders.

Alcohol

Both sampled populations, offenders and students, used alcohol extensively. Among the offender population, early adolescent use was relatively prominent, even among group members aged 13 to 15, many of whom were drinking as much as a half-gallon of wine daily. But with procurement difficulties and legal factors considered, alcohol, rather than heroin, correlated higher with violent behavior than did any other drugs.

Comparative Television Viewing Experiences of Youthful Offenders and College Students:

In all categories of exposure as children, adolescents, and young adults, the offenders spent more time watching television that did the students, as seen in Table I.

TABLE I

HOURS PER DAY OF TELEVISION EXPOSURE

	Child*		Adolescent*		Adult	
	Stu.	Offend.	Stu.	Offend.	Stu.	Offend.
1. 0-2 hours:	39	5	43	18	88	42
2. 3-4 hours:	40	24	45	41	12	31
3. 5-6 hours:	18	37	11	26	0	10
4. 7-8 hours:	3	18	1	7	0	8
5. 9-12 hours:	0	14	0	8	0	7
6. Over 12 hours:	0	2	0	0	0	2

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* N equals percent and absolute frequency

With reference to television preferences, as children both the students and offenders preferred cartoons and westerns. The offenders showed a relatively stronger trend toward preferring westerns well into adolescence, thought to be associated with a lesser degree of relative emotional maturity. During adolescence, moreover, the offender favorites were gangster, western, police and live music shows. By way of contrast, the students during the same period of their lives preferred spy shows, science fiction, and sports. As young adults, the students favored news, science fiction, and sports in comparison to the continuing offender preferences for police and variety shows. This may be seen in Table II.

Comparisons between offender preferences and those of the college student sample can be seen in Table III, which compares specific favorite television shows for each group.

TABLE II

Favorite Types of Shows

TYPE	CHILD*		ADOLESCENT*		ADULT*	
	Stu.	Offend.	Stu.	Offend.	Stu.	Offend.
1. War:	0	4	5	4	0	0
2. Westerns:	13	35	3	14	1	3
3. Spy:	1	0	13	5	2	0
4. Gangster:	1	8	1	15	0	8
5. Police:	1	2	2	15	3	28
6. Love:	0	0	1	1	0	0
7. Soap Operas:	0	0	0	1	0	1
8. Horror:	0	6	0	4	1	0
9. Science Fiction:	3	0	19	1	15	2
10. Cartoons:	55	33	6	4	2	0
11. News:	0	0	4	0	24	3
12. Family Comedy:	5	5	7	4	6	2
13. Stand-up Comedy:	3	0	1	0	2	8
14. Variety Shows:	1	0	2	3	1	26
15. Dancing and Live Music	0	2	1	14	0	0
16. Sports:	0	0	9	2	10	3
17. Lawyers:	1	0	0	0	0	1
18. Quiz Shows:	0	0	1	1	5	0
19. Other:	2	1	8	1	10	0
20. No response:	14	4	17	11	16	5

* N equals percent and absolute frequency

TABLE III

Favorite Television Shows

		Students*	Offenders*
1.	Flip Wilson	2	56
2.	Mod Squad:	2	44
3.	It Takes A Thief:	0	18
4.	Wild Wild West:	1	12
5.	Soul Train:	0	12
6.	Sports:	31	12
7.	Star Trek:	9	11
8.	Mission Impossible:	2	9
9.	Georgie Woods	0	9
10.	The FBI:	0	8
11.	Ironside:	0	7
12.	News:	52	6
13.	Doctor Shock:	12	5
14.	Hawaii Five-O	0	4
15.	Ed Sullivan:	0	4
16.	Beverly Hillbillies:	0	4
17.	Laugh-In:	5	4
18.	NYPD:	0	3
19.	Marcus Welby:	1	3
20.	Shirley Temple:	0	3
21.	All in the Family	29	3

* To compile this table each subject was asked what his three favorite television shows are.

Crimes From Television

As previously reported, 22 of the young offender population reported trying criminal techniques seen on television. In contrast to those actually led to imitate techniques, an additional 22 contemplated the utilization of techniques seen on television. In no instance was television regarded as a motivating factor of criminal behavior in the offender population. Unless otherwise predisposed, television would appear to have little or no effect as a causative factor in criminal behavior. In support of this finding, none of the students committed crimes seen on television, or even contemplated them beyond a level of fantasy.

Learning From Television

Each subject in the sample populations was asked what he felt he had learned from television. About 20% of the students were quite disillusioned with television, and for them it was necessary to include two separate categories of their feelings about the medium itself. For purposes of classification, the following table indicates differences between student and offender responses to questions pertaining to what the subjects felt they had learned from television.

TABLE IV

Learning from Television

	Students*	Offenders*
1. Felt they had learned nothing:	9	22
2. Felt they had picked up general knowledge:	21	22
3. Have learned how to commit crimes:	0	13
4. Have learned that crime doesn't pay:	0	7
5. Felt they learned about all types of people:	9	17
6. Have learned about sports:	8	6
7. Felt that TV was unreal:	16	13
8. Felt they had learned of the power of TV:	18	0
9. Felt they had learned of the "idiocy" of American culture:	19	0

* N equals percent and absolute frequency

DISCUSSION

A comparative, retrospective study of young persons, matched in age and growing up in the television era, confirms our conclusions that violent crime is the result of multiple factors, and cannot, without gross simplification, be attributable to watching violent television programs. Among causal factors are early environmental influences, problems in response to self image and feelings of inadequacy, underlying depression, faulty relationships with parental figures, youthful gang participation and experience, dependency needs, heterosexual inadequacies with respect to tenderness, and a host of factors related to utilization of alcohol and drugs.

It is to be stressed that many of the above conclusions are tentative, initial findings or trends which are emerging from the past twelve months of the studies. It is, nevertheless, a reasonable expectation to anticipate that the further analysis of the data will tend to confirm those trends.

PROJECT VII:

RESPONSES OF CHILDREN TO ACTION-ADVENTURE TELEVISION DRAMAS WITH AND WITHOUT PROSOCIAL CONTENT

This particular project sought to explore any differences which susceptible children might show in their response to two kinds of television stimuli: violent action-adventure with prosocial content and violent action-adventure with minimal or no prosocial content. The emotionally impaired subjects are those children whom we have continued to study for four years, and the methodology and design are consistent with previously reported projects which used these children as subjects.

Methodology

Subjects: Two groups of emotionally susceptible children.

1) The emotionally impaired group consisted of thirty children attending a private non-profit day school for emotionally troubled children. These subjects could essentailly be considered as a psychiatric child population, or a population of emotionally disturbed youngsters.

The referral of these children, usually from a public school source, a pediatrician, a child psychiatrist, or other professionally qualified person reflected an accurate judgment that these children needed special assistance.

The one common symptom of all these children was a learning disability, reflected in poor school achievement despite their basic average intellectual endowment. This common symptom was imbedded in a constellation of other emotional and behavioral problems manifested in a variety of ways, including pre-delinquent behavior, conflicts with peers and authority figures, hyperactivity, withdrawal, poor control of aggression, and a general clinical picture of maladaptiveness.

Their homes reflected a socio-economic background consistent with lower middle or working class parents. These children ranged in age between 10 and 14 years, and showed a generally representative distribution between boys and girls and blacks and whites,

2) The second or broken home group of emotionally susceptible children consisted of 30 boys, ranging in age from 10 to 18 years, living in an institution. The boys in this institution might best be characterized as normally deprived.

Aside from their fate of having broken homes, and inevitable psychological scars, these boys were intrinsically more intact than the emotionally impaired. Nevertheless, they came from broken homes where parents had either died, or were otherwise unable or unfit to care for them. Inasmuch as they were affected by rearing instability that characterized their previous family lives, they are regarded as a special group of meotionally vulnerable children.

These two special populations then represent an essential segment of the spectrum of susceptible children that the Surgeon General's Report[37] recommended for further study regarding the emotional effects of television on children.

The Nature of the Stimuli:

Actual television programs were used in order that the stimuli be normally representative of what such children could and would tune to on their sets at home. In relation to observational learning and imitation, these television stimuli contained significant episodes of violence, but one of these featured a strong prosocial theme in addition to its violent action.

Five complete television programs were used for this part of the study. After considerable search for a complete show of manageable length which would contain a combination of action-adventure and prosocial factors, the research teams settled upon, "Welcome to our City", an episode of the Mod Squad series. This will be referred to as the prosocial film.

"Welcome to our City" has as its theme a boy's search for his father in a strange city in which the boy's experiences were rich in interpersonal experiences which depicted both constructive and destructive uses of aggression.

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[37] "Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence", op. cit.

The remaining four films settled upon as program stimuli could be considered primarily violent. These included "The Favor", "David and Goliath" (an episode of Rat Patrol), "The Smith Family" and "The Hero" (Will Sonnet).

Evaluative Materials

In addition to the direct clinical observations of the child psychologist, teachers and teachers' assistants, all of the subjects were administered certain test measures before viewing any of the films. Other measures were repeated at the end of the project. The "pre" administration of these measures served to establish certain base-line characteristics of the broken home and emotionally impaired populations. These scales enabled the observers to compare changes in characteristics of the viewers before and after exposure to the stimuli.

Rationale for Base Line Measurements

In these studies the Sears Aggression Scales, having been administered on a number of occasions to the subjects in our various child populations, were given once again as a base line measurement, rather than a before and after measurement. We have obtained and reported on such measures in our previous reports.

The specific purpose for giving the Sears Test at the beginning of this study and others (I, II, V, VII, VIII, X) was to provide a base line of personality variables in aggression among the child population. Such a measure would allow the testing of the following specific hypothesis:

Personality variables in aggression will determine how television content will be evaluated or assimilated by each child. It is postulated that children high in Projected Aggression and Antisocial Aggression* will be more accepting of antisocial aggression in television portrayals. Children high in Aggression Anxiety and Prosocial Aggression will be more accepting of prosocial aggression in television portrayals.

The use of the Sears base line measurements in this and the ensuing project, therefore, allow for the comparative examination of viewer responses among the children of different pre-existing characteristics with respect to aggression. Thus, if one wanted to test whether certain types of aggressive youngsters had a greater preference for apples than did less aggressive youngsters, then one would need to establish a base line of the youngsters' pre-existing variations with respect to aggression prior to measuring their affinity or preference for apples.

A. Base-line Tests (Pre-Program Measures)

Four dependent variables were used. These included:

1) The Sears Aggression Scale**

The Sears Scales were composed of items in the form of declarative sentences with which the child could express his agreement or disagreement. For example, "A boxing match is more exciting when it is a real grudge fight, and the fighters are really mad at each other".

The content of each item in the Sears Aggression Scales was designed to express one of five types of modality of aggression (or its rejection).

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* Two of the sub-scales described by Sears. op. cit.

** See Appendix for test and pages 23-27, Project I, for description.

The five scales measure the following:

a) Aggression anxiety measures feelings of fear, discomfort and dislike of aggression. (Example. "It makes me feel uncomfortable to see two of my friends fighting".)

b) Projected aggression refers to the tendency to attribute aggression to sources outside of self. (Example. "Big dogs are likely to be dangerous".)

c) Self-aggression refers to injury or punishment to one's self.

d) Prosocial aggression refers to aggression used in a socially approved manner for purposes that are acceptable to the moral standards of the group.

e) Antisocial aggression refers to behavior normally unacceptable in the formal social pattern of our culture. (For example, "An actual fight is the only way to se-tle a disagreement.")

2) Television Attitude Questionnaire

This questionnaire attempts to assess the basic attitudes that are associated with television viewing, and includes attitudes of both a positive and negative nature. This measure was adopted and modified from a measure by Friedman and Johnson.[38] This questionnaire assessed basic attitudes habitually associated with television viewing. (For example, "Television programs give me ideas on how to get away with something without getting caught." _____Often _____Sometimes _____Not too often _____Never.)

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[38] Freidman, Herbert L. and Johnson, Raymond L., "Mass Media Use and Aggression: A Pilot Study", Television and Social Behavior, V. III, Report to the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee, 1972.

B. Program Reports (Post-Viewing Measures)

The following measures were administered at the end of each television program shown to the subjects in this particular project.

1) Television Arousal Questionnaire

This is a measure designed to assess the degree of affect and feeling aroused in the children by either prosocial or aggressive elements of the television stimuli. This measure by itself does not reveal whether these feelings were acted out or not. It is confined to measuring the generation of emotion or feeling.

2) Reaction Test

This is a test which Lieberman and his associates[39] have found to be useful. After viewing the television stimuli, children were presented with a list of thirteen manifestations of behavior. They were then asked to indicate the degree to which they felt like doing each particular item of behavior at the particular moment they were tested. The degrees of response were "Not at all," "Maybe," and "Very Much". Six of these thirteen items were either aggressive acts or inner feelings of anger. The remaining seven were non-aggressive.

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[39] Lieberman, S., op. cit. See Appendix for test and page 32, in Project I, for description.

3) Story Reviews .

"Story Reviews" were conducted by the teachers and assistant teachers following exposure of the children to both prosocial and aggressive film stimuli. These were designed to evaluate the awareness of each child for details of the plot, comprehension, and the assimilation of the program's factual content, as well as its message or moral.

The "Story Review" technique was a clinical one designed to elicit the child's reaction to particular program materials, and provide empirical data in the hands of skilled clinicians including the child psychologist, special teachers and their experienced assistants.

For purposes of management the empirical data was organized so that it could be conceptualized, discussed and analyzed in terms of direct imitation, disinhibition, direct counter-imitation, inhibition, and non-inhibition. This scheme had the advantage of providing both for specificity, as well as accounting for general classes of actions and reactions.

Correlational data between pre-post measures and program measures have been obtained and will be referred to in the analysis of data in the projects contained in the present report.

C. Cognitive tests were also administered. These included:

1) The House Test[40] consisted of 60 linear drawing of a house, each

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[40] Santostefano, S., "Leveling-Sharpening House Test: A Procedure for Assessing the Cognitive Principle of Leveling-Sharpening". Boston, Mass. Boston University School of Medicine, Mimeo, 1971.

printed on a card. Gradually from card to card, elements of the card are omitted cumulatively, each picture representing some combination of increasing omissions. The child is asked to watch each display carefully and to state whenever he notices that the picture changes or looks different .

Children who detect changes early and swiftly, and who are sensitive to many changes, and who are quick to report them immediately after the modification of the altered picture of the house is introduced are characterized, in cognitive terms, as "Sharpeners". In contrast to Sharpeners, children who detect few changes, and only at considerable intervals after the change is introduced are called, in cognitive terms, "Levelers".

2) Matching Familiar Figures is a test developed by Kagan.[41] In this Matching Familiar Figures test (M.F.F.) the subject was shown a picture (the standard), and six similar pictures, only one of which was precisely identical to the standard. The subject then selects the one subsequent stimulus picture that is identical to the standard. The standard pictures and variations are displayed simultaneously. This test measures analytic and discriminative abilities of the child.

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[41] Kagan, J., Rosman, B.L., Day, D., Albert J., and Phillips, W., "Information Processing in the Child: Significance of Analytic and Reflective Attitudes", Psych. Mono, 1964, 78, 2-23.

Test Results and Data

A. Base line measures (pre-television program testing)

1. Sears Aggression Scale

On comparing the two groups of children in the five Sears Measures of Aggression, four of the scales showed that the children were essentially equivalent in respect to the particular type of aggression measured.

TABLE I

A Comparison of Pre-TV Exposure Aggression Scores in More Disturbed Children And Less Disturbed Children

	More Disturbed (N=30)		Less Disturbed (N=30)	
	M	S.D.	M	S.D.
Aggression Anxiety	6.73	2.42	7.64	2.68
Projected Aggression	6.19	2.73	6.42	2.44
Self Aggression	2.21	1.24	2.08	1.38
Prosocial Aggression	4.21	1.71	4.13	1.48
Antisocial Aggression	8.79	1.73	4.26	1.25

M=Mean S.D.=Standard Deviation

The only significant difference between the two groups was reflected in the area of antisocial aggreesion (t = 11.61, df=58, $p < .01$). This indicated that before exposure to the television stimuli, the emotionally impaired group identified significantly more with the expression of antisocial aggression than did the broken home group. As a result of these base line measures the children were separated into a more disturbed (M.D.) group and a less disturbed (L.D.) group.

This finding is consistent with clinical observations that the more disturbed group was more significantly predisposed from the start of the program to antisocial tendencies than were the less disturbed children. This finding was also consistent with what the teachers knew of these children, namely that the more disturbed group contained youngsters who were more emotionally troubled and impulsive than the less disturbed children.

This finding is also consistent with another significant result, the discontinuity manifested between cognitive measures in the more disturbed group in comparison with their assimilation, discrimination and intellectual grasp of the televised stimuli, particularly the violent programs. This finding is further underlined by the performance of the more disturbed group on the Reactions Test following the viewing of aggressive television materials. (See Tables V - VII, pages 192 - 192.)

2. Television Attitude Questionnaire: Numbers of children from each group in each category are presented in Table II.

TABLE II:

Attitudes Toward Television In More Disturbed and Less Disturbed Children

	Positive Attitudes		Negative Attitudes	
	M.D. (N=30)	L.D (N=30)	M.D. (N=30)	L.D. (N=30)
Often	3	4	5	3
Sometimes	11	14	13	11
Not too Often	10	9	10	12
Never	6	3	2	4
	x^2=1.0, df=3, $p>.05$		x^2=1.93, df=3, $p>.05$	

M.D.= More Disturbed L.D.= Less Disturbed

As seen from the above, there were no significant differences between the more disturbed group and the less disturbed children in their dimension of either positive or negative attitudes toward television viewing.

In addition to the testing conducted on each youngster in this particular project prior to exposure to the television stimuli, a number of tests or measures were utilized immediately following the viewing of each television program. We refer to these as Program Measures.

B. Program Measures

1. Television Arousal Questionnaire

In order to achieve a reasonable degree of comparability of prosocial vs. aggressive ratings, figures for the four aggressive films were averaged to provide a consolidated figure. The following figures represent numbers of subjects in each category.

TABLE III

Arousal Ratings of More Disturbed Children and Less Disturbed Children Following the Viewing of a Prosocial Action-Adventure Television Drama (Arousal Questionnaire)

	M.D. (N=30)	L.D. (N=30)
Minimal (Hardly helpful)	4	5
Moderate (A little helpful)	10	9
Pronounced (Quite helpful)	12	10
Extreme (Extremely helpful)	4	6
	$x^2=1.05$, df=3, $p > .05$	

This instrument demonstrated no significant group differences between the more disturbed and the less disturbed children on the degree of affect felt toward the prosocial film.

Application of the above testing instruments to both groups of children following their viewing of the aggressive television materials provided the following results:

TABLE IV

Arousal Responses of More Disturbed Children And Less Disturbed Children Following Exposure To Televised Portrayals of Violent Drama (Arousal Questionnaire)

	M.D. (N=30)	L.D. (N=30)
Minimal (Hardly cruel)	3	2
Moderate (A little cruel)	11	10
Pronounced (Quite cruel)	11	10
Extreme (Extremely cruel)	5	8
	$x^2=1.06$, df=3, $p > .05$	

M.D.= More Disturbed L.D.= Less Disturbed

There were no significant group differences between the more disturbed and the less disturbed populations in the degree of affect or feeling elicited by the aggressive television materials. It is of some passing interest to note that the majority of children in both populations regarded the characters portrayed in the prosocial films as being moderately to quite helpful.

In response to exposure to televised portrayals of violence a similar proportion of children in each group regarded the characters as showing no pronounced degrees of cruelty.

There were no significant differences in numbers of More Disturbed children in each arousal rating category after viewing either prosocial or violent programs ($x^2=.738$, $df=3$, $p>.05$). There were also no significant differences in numbers of Less Disturbed children in each arousal rating category after viewing prosocial or violent programs ($x^2=1.92$, $df=3$, $p>.05$).

2. Reactions Test

The results obtained following the viewing of four aggressive films were consolidated into an average score to make it comparable to the results obtained following exposure to the prosocial film. Thus, the following scores were derived by summing and then averaging the scores for aggressive items separately, and the non-aggressive items separately, for each of the two groups of subjects - emotionally impaired and broken home.

TABLE V

Intensity of Responses of More Disturbed Children and Less Disturbed Children to Prosocial Television Materials And to Violent Television Stimuli (Reactions Test)

	More Disturbed (N=30)		Less Disturbed (N=30)	
	Prosocial TV Stimuli	Violent TV Stimuli	Prosocial TV Stimuli	Violent TV Stimuli
Aggressive Responses	11	16*	13	18
Non-Aggressive Responses	14	9	8	10

* Statistically significant at 5% level

It will be seen from Table V that the only statistically significant finding was the response of the more disturbed group of children to the aggressive television stimuli. Their preference on the Reactions Test for aggressive behavior choices stood in marked contrast to their responses following exposure to the action-adventure drama with prosocial elements.

3. Story Reviews

The following scores for the prosocial story review instrument and the aggressive story review test represent group averages.

TABLE VI

Assimilation of Prosocial and Aggressive Content (Story Review Test)

	Prosocial Content	Violent Content
More Disturbed (N=30)	22	15
Less Disturbed (N=30)	28	26*

*Significant at 5%

These group average scores indicated a statistically significant difference in the assimilation of aggressive television program content in comparing the response of the more disturbed group to the scores of the less disturbed group.

The more disturbed children assimilated significantly less aggressive television materials than did the less disturbed children. That is to say, they responded less to the aggressive content on a cognitive, intellectual and emotional basis than did their psychologically more intact peers.

C. Cognitive Test Results

The following figures represent the scores of the two groups on both the cognitive tests.

TABLE VII

Cognitive Test Scores

	House Test	Matching Familiar Figures Test
More Disturbed Group (N=30)	12.4	7.9
Less Disturbed Group (N=30)	14.3	6.4

Cognitive test results did not reveal significant differences in cognitive functioning between the more disturbed group of children and the less disturbed children.

Table VIII shows the relationships between the Cognitive Tests and the Story Review instruments.

TABLE VIII

Correlations Between Cognitive Tests and Story Reviews

	Prosocial Story Reviews	Aggressive Story Reviews
More Disturbed Group (N=30)	.62	.46
Less Disturbed Group (N=30)	.81	.73

Conclusions and Discussion

Certain trends can be discerned from the above results, some of which are in the nature of confirmations of our previous impressions and reports, and some of which advance or extend our concepts of the interaction between television and children.

Turning our attention first to a consideration of the base line measures (pre-test measure, prior to exposure to the television program stimuli) a significant difference was revealed in the comparison of the two groups of children on one of the Sears Scales, the Antisocial Aggression Scale. In effect, the more disturbed (M.D.) group of children indicated a pre-existing increased preference for the expression of aggressive antisocial action over that found in the less disturbed (L.D.) children. It is important to realize that this finding was present prior to the subjects' viewing any of the television stimuli in this particular project.

These base line measures were administered as part of the effort to determine where these two samples of susceptible children stood in relation to certain key variables (such as aggression) as part of their life experiences before they responded to the television stimuli used in this project.

In the light of clinical data and background material which the research team had available on the more disturbed children, this finding is not surprising, and can be viewed as further indication of the validity of the antisocial aggression scale.

The researcher's clinical studies and familiarity with both groups of children had indicated that there was a higher incidence of frank emotional or psychiatric disturbance in the more disturbed sample in comparison to that revealed by the less disturbed children. This difference was reflected in such differences as poor impulse control, pre-delinquent activity, hyperactivity, and provocativeness. From what was known of these children in ongoing day-to-day work with them in their special classrooms, or in their group home, the results of the antisocial aggression scale are strongly validated.

This finding constituted an early indication that the more disturbed group of children are indeed more vulnerable than the less disturbed children.

The above base line (or pre-test) factor is important in evaluating the group differences seen on the Reactions Test, and the different relationships between the Cognitive Tests and the Story Review materials found to exist between these two groups of children. These findings are supportive of the conclusion that characteristics of the viewer are among the most important determinants of his response to televised materials, leaving aside for the moment such present imponderables as causation or motivation for antisocial behavior.

Although this particular finding is noteworthy, it is also impressive that the remaining scales of the Sears aggression instrument, as well as the Television Attitude Questionnaire, reflected no significant differences in the two groups. Indeed, these two groups of children shared much commonality of opinion and thought concerning their response to the television stimuli, and were not seen as two entirely separate universes of children, worlds apart so to speak.

A further significant difference between the two groups of children, however, was expressed in their response to television stimuli as measured in the Reactions Test.

The more disturbed children expressed significantly greater preference in this instrument for aggressive choices of behavior following their exposure to aggressive television materials than did the less disturbed children. This behavioral preference for aggressivity was not necessarily expressed physically (as in the choice, "Hit someone with a rock"), but could also be expressed verbally (as in, "Call someone a dirty name"). Thus, it appears that the more disturbed children were more stimulated by their exposure to televised violence. The more disturbed children gravitated toward more regressive and aggressive responses, in contrast to more socially acceptable preferences expressed in non-aggressive action choices (such as, "Take a walk").

It must be pointed out that the above finding is the only one of the four analyses utilizing the Reactions Test that was revealing. It again underscored the importance of recognizing emotional predispositions in certain groups of children in any effort to understand and deal with precipitating factors that might stimulate such predisposed children. The predisposition we are referring to was established by the only base line (pre-test) measure of significant differences in the two populations of children (the Sears Antisocial Aggression Scale). Thus, the precipitating factor (exposure to aggressive television stimuli) served to arouse pre-existing aggressive tendencies in the more susceptible group.

It is further noteworthy that there were no significant differences between the two groups on the Television Arousal Questionnaire. In other words, these two groups generally experienced the same level of affect and response to the various characters and content of the prosocial and aggressive television stimuli. They generally showed comparable feelings over such things as the helpfulness, cruelty, seriousness, etc., of the various people whom they saw depicted in the television dramas. Thus, the differences emerged not in the initial perceptual and evaluative processes that went on during and immediately after the television programs; rather the differences were manifested in the decreased inhibitory control that the more disturbed group showed in comparison to the relatively more stable and less disturbed (but susceptible) children.

Turning to the materials that indicate the degree to which subjects assimilated, took in or responded to the content and nuances of both prosocial and aggressive television stimuli, a differential pattern is seen in some of the results, as follows.

In terms of the degree of information and cognitive awareness of the content of the aggressive television stimuli, the more disturbed children recalled less about such shows than did the less disturbed children. In other words, they got less out of aggressive shows, as though it were somehow filtered.

This diminished involvement appears to be less a function of attention than it does a matter of the cognitive functioning of the more disturbed youngsters in response to exposure to violent materials. In contrast to their response to prosocial materials, the more disturbed youngsters reflected a relative inability to recall basic facts pertaining to violent television stimuli to which they had just been exposed, and were less able to comprehend the logic and rationale of these aggressive program materials.

When the more disturbed group of youngsters was compared with the more psychologically intact and less disturbed children in terms of information which each group derived from prosocial and aggressive television materials, differences were noted between the two groups only with respect to aggressive television stimuli. The differential decrement was with the more disturbed children, whose predisposing and precipitating factors already constituted a suggestive pattern of diminished intake, involvement with, and appreciation of, the violent stimuli. This difference between the two groups did not appear following their exposure to the prosocial television program.

Finally, following the group comparisons, the study correlated the comparative performance of the two groups on the Cognitive Tests (House Test and Matching Familiar Figures Test) with their performance on the Story Reviews described previously. This was necessary in order to determine the consistency of approach of each of the two groups of children when exposed to different television content (aggressive or violent television stimuli vs. action-adventure with prosocial content).

These correlations then measured the internal consistency within each group. This is in line with one of the aims of this particular project, namely, to study the vicissitudes of the child's cognitive apparatus and information processing system in relation to neutral (non-personal, non-socially relevant) materials in response to two types of television program stimuli (violent action-adventure vs. action-adventure with prosocial content).

What can we say about the more disturbed youngsters with respect to their cognitive styles, learning patterns and television viewing? It is entirely clear that the more disturbed children showed the most discontinuity between their results on standard cognitive tests and their results on their cognitive approach to aggressive television materials. They tended to be more intellectually discriminating and sharp on the neutral cognitive tests than they were, by comparison, in their responses to, and awareness of, various aspects of violent television programs.

There appeared to be a break in their thinking, inasmuch as their functioning on cognitive tasks did not transfer or generalize to their test performances in response to the aggressive television stimuli. Both clinical and test findings are indicative of a tendency for this discontinuity between cognitive functioning in general and cognitive functioning with respect to television stimuli to be a selective discontinuity, dependent upon the content of the television stimulus program. Of considerable interest, and worthy of further study is the finding that this discontinuity between cognitive functioning and the cognitive response to television program stimuli seemed considerably more pronounced in violent program materials than in action-adventure drama with prosocial content.

By comparison, the less disturbed demonstrated continuity or equivalence between the purely cognitive tests and their cognitive responses to television stimuli. Within this group, those children who were sharp and reflective on the cognitive tasks tended largely to transfer these qualities to their assimilation of the television stimuli. The less disturbed children as well as the more disturbed children viewed both the prosocial action-adventure program and the aggressive or violent television materials in order to evaluate the influence of content as measured by the various tests and clinical observations in this particular study. There appeared to be no differential effect of content with the less disturbed children. There was indeed a consistency of their cognitive approach to both the prosocial and violent program materials. They were revealed as children who were scarred more by fate than by intrinsic developmental problems.

In comparing the more disturbed children and the less disturbed children further, the major emotional and personality charcteristics of the groups themselves seemed to be the primary determinant for their different patterns of test responses. The more disturbed children, being the more susceptible or vulnerable of the two groups, reflected these qualities in the sense that violent television programming upset their cognitive equilibrium and resulted in some degree of cognitive decompensation which was demonstrated more in responses to violent materials than to the prosocial program.

By way of contrast, the emotionally more intact group or less disturbed children were not disorganized in their reaction to either violent television programming or action-adventure with prosocial content, and their cognitive test scores and responses to television stimuli were more congruent with each other.

If one can construe the gap between the reaction to "neutral" cognitive tests and violent television stimuli on the bart of the more disturbed children as an example of Festinger's[42] concept of cognitive dissonance, then the emotional factors in the viewer must be seen as playing as important a role as television content in the determination of viewer response. It is plausible that the emotionally loaded content of the violent television programs was a determinant in the discontinuity of cognitive responses to television materials in comparison with functioning on standard cognitive test instruments. It is apparent, however, that emotional content of the violent television programs affected the more disturbed group more than it affected the less disturbed children.

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[42] Festinger, L., A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance, Row, Peterson, Evanstron, IL, 1957.

It is Festinger's hypothesis that when a cognitive system comprises contradictory perceptions or beliefs, the individual responds with tension or discomfort which motivates him to reduce the discomforting dissonance by altering elements of his cognitive system.

This points to the important factor of longitudinal influences. On the basis of extensive clinical information, case histories, and other evaluative materials available to the research teams, it is known that the more disturbed group generally had not only a developmental background that was disturbed, but also a present ongoing emotional maladaptation of significant proportion, requiring their exclusion from public schools and participation in special classes. The correlations between specific child developmental patterns, specific symptoms and emotional conflicts and differential responses to television programming indeed constitute a promising area for ongoing study, and refinement of our knowledge of the interaction of susceptible or emotionally vulnerable children to portrayed violence in television programming.

Although their emotional development is an obvious long range factor, the more immediate effect of their emotional background is seen in their emotional absorption in the aggressive stimulation, and the neglect or devaluation of thinking about what they saw, if left to their own devices. The set or attitude of the more disturbed group was to regard the violent television programs more as a means of discharging their tensions or anxiety than as a means of learning about an experience in a meaningful fashion through reflection, compassion or discussion.

This attitude of the more disturbed group does not appear in absolute terms. The cognitive equipment of such children, judging from our evaluation of the data available, appears to have held up better in the prosocial action-adventure drama. Here, the violent elements were counterbalanced, or qualified in terms of their impact, by the total context, and by a more systematic explanation of the motivations and personality of the characters. The understanding the children had of the prosocial action-adventure drama, as reflected in the tests, clinical studies and questionnaires in response to this type of program, has implications for modeling and imitation of prosocial behavior.

The more disturbed children have deficits and impairments in their mechanisms of adaptation and reality-testing. They tend to be impulsive and lack the appropriate personality resources to deal with stimulation that, to them, is highly charged, including certain kinds of television stimulus materials. The specific identification of such materials constitutes an ongoing research task of broadcast standards, with particular reference to children's programming.

PROJECT VIII:

COGNITIVE STYLE AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO PERCEPTION OF VIOLENT OF PROSOCIAL ASPECTS IN TELEVISION PROGRAMS

Janet L. Hoopes, Ph.D.   Randal W. Wimberley, B.A.

This independent, but coordinated, study was carried out under the supervision of Dr. Janet Hoopes, Professor and Director, Department of Psychology, Bryn Mawr College. Randal Wimberley also pursued the following work in partial fulfillment of his post-graduate program at Bryn Mawr.

I. Statement of the Problem

It has now become clear that there is no simple was of predicting the impact of a given television program on a child's behavior. (Television and Growing Up: Impact of Televised Violence, Report to the Surgeon General, 1972). Age of the child, predisposition of the child to act out, context in which the program is viewed, and labeling of the program as real or fantasy, are all variables which may be important. However, it seems that the child's perception of a program may be a critical element in all the above variables. The information the child takes from the television program and the way in which he interprets it or relates it to his own experiences may be products of his cognitive style. No matter how much we know about members and kinds of incidents in a program, number of viewing hours, and other objective information, we do not know much about the effects of a program on the child unless we know what he takes from it and how he analyzes or relates to it - in short, what his cognitive style is.

Most previous research has examined the impact on children of viewing violent television programs with little or no emphasis on the prosocial elements in a program. Previous projects in this series have indicated the importance of viewing variables, interests and abilities of the child, cognitive style of the child and possible prosocial potentials of television.

The present research followed from this and investigated: 1) how cognitive style varies in different groups of children - children living in families, children in residential placement, children with normal learning and children with learning difficulties; 2) cognitive style and its relation to the interpretation of a television program with both violent and prosocial characteristics; 3) how viewing patterns at home relate to selective interpretations of television programs and to cognitive style. The research reflected the recommendations of the Report to the Surgeon General (1972) in that it explored such variables as parental supervision of television viewing, and predispositional characteristics of the children.

II. Theoretical Background

No complete review of the literature will be attempted in this paper. The reader is referred to Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence, Report to the Surgeon General (1972) and to The Early Window (Liebert, Neale and Davidson, 1973) for a detailed survey of previous research. Since this research investigated aspects of cognitive style and its relation to interpretation of television material, the following discussion will focus on the theory underlying this concept of cognitive style.

Cognitive Control and Cognitive Style

Research since the 1940's (Witkin, 1954; Kagan, Moss & Sigel, 1963) has viewed cognition in terms of stable individual differences which serve one's adjustment to a changing environment. Unique individual consistencies can be identified in the cognitive functioning of humans. The labels "cognitive style" and "cognitive controls" have been used to describe such consistencies. These terms have been used interchangeably and differences between them are subtle.

Santostefano (1970) has followed Klein's (1958) differentiation of cognitive control from cognitive style. The essential difference seems to be that cognitive style is defined as a more inclusive term than cognitive control.

> "Klein has proposed that several cognitive controls could form a configuration representing the cognitive style of an individual. This use of the term style may have contributed to the confusion in the field between the concepts of control and style. For Klein, a cognitive style is a configuration of a number of controls or principles, while for Witkin and Kagan it represents a single principle." (Santostefano, 1970, p. 78.)

Santostefano (1970) defines cognitive controls as intervening variables which define principles by which perception, memory and other basic qualitative forms of cognitive functioning are organized as an individual coordinates himself with his environment.

Cognitive Controls are inner psychological (ego) mechanisms which: 1) determine the amount and organization of information that becomes available to a child as an individual perceiver; 2) are activated by stimuli which cause the child to experience some intent to use and to adapt to the information; 3) vary in the extent to which they eventually operate in the reasoning process of the child; 4) evolve, in part, as a function of maturation and life experiences, but subsequently may become independent or autonomous from their origin of development; 5) become a relatively fixed aspect of a child's adaptive style which gives shape to his subsequent experiences; and 6) mediate the influence of personality, motivation and environmental stimuli in the child's use of thought and fantasy.

Kagan (1964) and his associates have proposed a construct to account for consistent individual differences in cognitive functioning. In his experimental work, Kagan found that some individuals characteristically analyzed and differentiated the test stimuli and applied labels to sub-elements of the whole, behavior conceptualized as an "Analytic" cognitive attitude or style. Others tended to perceive and order the stimulus field as a relatively undifferentiated, global body of information, behavior conceptualized as "Nonanalytic". Kagan has gone further in exploring the antecedents of the Analytic-Nonanalytic style - the impulsive reflective style. Kagan, Moss & Sigel (1963), in a series of studies on basic cognitive processes, discovered that children who were more analytic in their resonse to stimuli, also showed longer response times. The assumption then follows that children who are analytic are less impulsive (or more reflective) than those who are nonanalytic.

It is thought that recent research on cognitive style offers a promising approach to the study of what and how the child learns from television. It provides: 1) an entrance into the crucial area of perception and personality; 2) an exploration of television as an instrument of "information"; 3) an assessment of how children react to and assimilate televised "information" of whatever variety; 4) a means of determining children's ways of learning from constructive (prosocial) aspects of television "information". Thomas (1971) in an unpublished doctoral dissertation investigated cognitive style and its influence on aggressive television. She found a definite relationship between cognitive style and children's response to TV.

The present research was based on one of Santostefano's principles of cognitive control and also Kagan's principle of cognitive style - impulsive reflectivity. The research is not so much concerned with the theoretical differentiation between cognitive style and cognitive control as it is with using these dimensions in exploring the relationship between cognition and interpretation of television material.

The Cognitive Control Principle of Leveling-Sharpening:

> "This principle concerns the manner in which an individual perceives and makes adaptive use of gradual changes in sequentially experienced stimuli. Some individuals (levelers) tend to assimilate or merge new experiences with memories of earlier experiences, and therefore construct relatively undifferentiated and contaminated memories, impressions and imagery of ongoing experiences. Others, on the other hand, tend to maintain discrete impressions and memories of subsequentially presented stimuli so that elements do not lose their individuality (sharpeners)." (Santostefano, 1970)

Cognitive Style - Reflection-Impulsivity:

This disposition is defined as the tendency to reflect over alternative solution possibilities, in contrast with the tendency to make an impulsive selection of a solution, in problems with high response uncertainty. (Kagan, 1965; Kagan, Rosman, Day & Phillips, 1964.)

One would predict that children who vary along the dimensions of these two variables might selectively view and interpret television material in differing ways. The leveler, for example, when viewing a program with violent content, might merge memories of such a program with memories of earlier experiences and therefore less clearly differentiate TV material from other events in his life. Such a child then, might be more prone to retain violent elements and would be less clear in differentiating those from reality. Violence on TV would be exaggerated and thus perhaps imitated or acted on to a greater extent than one would predict from the sharpener. In the latter, discreet memories with rather clearly defined individuality would not merge with earlier memories. Violent elements would be perceived as belonging to the TV material only, clearly seen as fantasy and therefore not imitated and acted upon. The same might be said for selective perception of prosocial elements in those children who are either levelers or sharpeners. The initial predisposition of the child on the aggression continuum would probably be related to which type of material, violent or prosocial, the child would distort in the memory process. Children whose parents supervise or select the TV programs might be expected to measure more as sharpeners, who maintain discreet impressions, because these children have been trained to be more discriminating.

It would seem logical to hypothesize that children with learning disabilities would tend to be levelers and hence their difficulties in differentially perceiving and retaining their schoolwork. Thus in this study, one would expect the learning disabilities children to differ from the normal learners in this leveling-sharpening continuum.

On the dimension of reflection-impulsivity, one might predict that the impulsive child would be more prone to react or over-react to what he sees, to take away a general impression without clearly seeing more detailed and refined elements of the material. Thus TV material which had mixed elements of violence and prosocial material, would be recalled as totally violent or totally prosocial without the perception of the nuances and degrees in between. The learning disabilities children would by and large fall in the impulsive group and hence also be more total in their reaction to the TV material.

Differences between the children in families and children in residence are difficult to predict in these cognitive dimensions. It will be interesting to explore such differences.

Social class and IQ might influence considerably both the capacity for and training in techniques of reflection and of sharpening. Since there would undoubtedly be differences in social class between the residence and family children, one might hypothesize differences in cognitive style. It is hoped that the sample would be matched for IQ, or at least this would be controlled statistically.

III. Research Design

The general design of the larger study can be summarized as follows: Four groups of children were selected for study:

1. Children living in families, attending public schools, with normal learning patterns.
2. Children living in families, attending public schools, with learning disabilities so defined by the child's placement in a special education class. (Emotionally disturbed or mild cerebral dysfunction - no mentally retarded were included.)
3. Children living in a residential setting, attending public schools, with normal learning patterns.
4. Children living in a residential setting, attending public schools, with learning disabilities.

All children ranged in age from 9-0 to 10-11. In order to control for the personality variable of aggression, the Sears Aggression Scale was administered to all children. Then the children viewed in groups a television program which contained both violent and prosocial elements. Following this a questionnaire was administered, eliciting memory for content of the programs and reactions to and evaluations of the characters and the story.

Data on groups 1 and 2 were obtained in a different setting than data from groups 3 and 4. The remainder of this paper deals with the research on the former two groups. Data on the latter groups will be reported separately.

A. Setting of the Study

The Child Study Institute, Bryn Mawr College, serves the public schools of Lower Merion Township School District in a unique relationship. For 28 years the Institute has provided the clinical services to the school district through counselors and psychologists hired by the Institute, but working in the schools, particularly the elementary schools. The clinical staff has also been largely responsible for the screening of children in and out of special education classes. Therefore entree into a population of normal school children was easy. The deputy superintendent of the school district, who is responsible for research projects in the district gave his approval of the present research.

The elementary school used in this study serves about 500 children from kindergarten through sixth grade. In addition, it houses five of the district's special education classes for the emotionally disturbed and the minimally organically impaired. The latter children are integrated into many of the regular classes for subjects which they can handle with their more normal learning peers. This is particularly true for art, music and gym, but also includes academic subjects where the child is able to manage it. In this way the learning disability children are far less segregated than they would be in a special school. (Results on children in a special school for learning disability children will be reported in a later paper.)

The population of this affluent suburban area is largely upper middle class and upper class, although there are some families at the middle and lower end of the socio-economic scale. This was not a variable to be explored in this research and essentially the normal and learning disability children would not differ in this dimension.

B. Sample

Eighty children in the fourth and fifth grades of the school constitute the normal learning group. Twenty children in the special education classes make up the learning disability group. Sixteen had been diagnosed as emotionally disturbed and four as minimal cerebral dysfunction. School systems will differ in the kind of children classified for special education. In the Lower Merion School District, the special education children appeared largely normal but were considered socially immature, often were hyperactive, disruptive in the classroom and unable to learn despite normal intellectual potential. They had been diagnosed through psychological tests and psychiatric interviews. All children were from 9 years 0 months to 10 years

11 months of age. IQ scores were available on 98 of the 100 children. The IQ range was from 80 to 146 and it can be seen that the special class children differed significantly from the regular class children on intelligence. It is quite possible, of course, that these emotionally disturbed children were not functioning at their maximum level because of this disturbance. (See Table I and Table II for characteristics of the sample.)

C. Instrumentation

1. Pre-test measures

One of the goals of the research was to investigate the relationship between certain personality variables and interpretation of television material, and also the relationship between cognitive variables and interpretation of television material. Three pre-test measures were selected:

a. Sears Aggression Scale

Sears (1961) devised a set of self-administering aggression scales applicable to children. These scales are composed of items in the form of declarative sentences with which the child can express his agreement or disagreement. The content of each item was designed to express one type or modality of aggression (or its rejection) - Aggression Anxiety, Projected Aggression, Self Aggression, Prosocial Aggression, Antisocial Aggression. A total score for each of the five scales can be obtained by cumulating the individual items belonging to a given aggression scale. (See Appendix for a sample of the Scale.)

b. Leveling-Sharpening

Santostefano (1971) devised the House Test to measure this dimension. Sixty cards with line drawings of a house printed on them run from a complete, highly detailed first card to an incomplete and simple last card. The child is told to indicate as he looks at the cards in sequential order when something seems changed or different, and to name what it is. Subjects

TABLE I

Characteristics of the Sample
Age, Sex and Class Placement

Class Placement	AGE								Total
	9 yrs. 0 mos. to 9^{-5}		9^{-6} to 9^{-11}		10^{-0} to 10^{-5}		10^{-6} to 10^{-11}		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Regular Class	9	7	13	15	15	10	6	5	80
Special Education	3	2	3	1	5	2	1	3	20
Total	12	9	16	16	20	12	7	8	100

TABLE II

Characteristics of the Sample
IQ and Class Placement

Class Placement	IQ				Total
	94 or Less	95 - 109	110 - 124	125 or More	
Regular Class	8	15	28	27	78
Special Education	11	4	4	1	20
Total	19	19	32	28	98

Chi-Square = 22.56 p .001

who detect correct changes early are scored as sharpeners. There are scores which are of importance on this test: the card at which a change is first noticed; the number of correct changes noticed; the number and type of errors (contained in the House Scene displayed); errors not provided by the House Scene displayed (miscellaneous errors); and the Leveling-Sharpening Ratio (low ratio are sharpeners).

c. Impulsivity-Reflectivity

This dimension was measured by Kagan's Matching Familiar Figures Test (Kagan, 1964). This is a visual recognition test in which a stimulus figure and five figures similar to it, one identical to it, are presented to the child. The child is asked to select the figure which is identical with the standard. The variables scored are response time to the child's first answer and total number of errors. The impulsive child responds quickly, but makes many errors. The reflective child responds more slowly and makes fewer errors. This cognitive dimension has been related to reading ability (Kagan, 1965) and to tasks of serial learning (Kagan, 1966).

d. Parent Questionnaire

This questionnaire was devised for this study. It incorporated many elements of previous questionnaires. (See Comstock, C. & Rubenstein, E. (Eds.) Television and Social Behavior, 1972, Vol. III - Chaffee and McLeod, p. 149; Vol. IV - Lyle and Hoffman, p. 129 & p. 257; Murray, p. 345.) The questions were devised to elicit information in several areas: amount of time the child watches TV; parental control over TV viewing; child's attention to programs; child's involvement in a program, i.e. dreaming about it, acting out in play, etc. It was hoped that some relationship might be discovered between the parent questionnaire items and cognitive style, or that these items might differentiate the normal learners from the learning disability children. (See Appendix for sample questionnaire.)

2. Experimental Stimulus

The main criterion for selection of the film to be viewed was that it contain both violent and prosocial elements. In addition the film was not to be too long and was to have intrinsic appeal to the age range selected for study. The field of choice narrowed to Mod Squad as meeting these criteria. The violence portrayed in this TV show is often carried out under the guise of helping out some unfortunate victim. The specific show chosen for this study was"Welcome to our City". The Mod Squad trio here is involved in helping an adolescent boy locate his father in a strange and large city. This particular show required just less than one hour for viewing. The advertisements were retained in order to simulate the typical viewing conditions. Of course, the film was shown in a school setting - a small auditorium - and in this way presented quite a different set of viewing conditions from those present in the home.

3. Post-Test Measures

Some research studies have used behavioral or observational measures of responses to television violence. This does indeed answer the real research question which asks whether the child or adolescent acts violently or antisocially when exposed to aggressive material. However, it was imparactical to carry out such behavioral measures in the school setting and hence a questionnaire was devised to measure the children's evaluations and memory for details of the Mod Squad show. The questions were devised to tap the following:

1) Significant details remembered

2) Evaluation of the show and its characters for both violent and prosocial aspects. For example, whether it was funny, sad, a good thing to watch, and whether the characters were kind, violent, helpful, etc.

3) How involved the child becomes in a show like this one, according to his report

4) How real the child sees the story and characters.

The resultant questionnaire appeared too long for nine and ten year old children to complete, especially after viewing an hour long show. Hence it was divided into two Forms - A-Form and B-Form. After some pre-testing it was discovered that the two forms could be completed relatively easily following the film, so they were stapled together. However, in order to avoid the effects of fatigue toward the end of the questionnaire, half of the children filled out A-Form first and half filled out B-Form first. (See Appendix for sample questionnaire.)

Relationships were to be explored between cognitive style and the four areas measured and also between learning disability versus normal learning patterns and the same four areas.

D. Procedure

Following approval of the project by the deputy superintendent of the Lower Merion School District, the investigators talked with the principal of one elementary school and obtained his cooperation for the project. Two meetings were devoted to explanation of the project to the teachers involved - the 4th and 5th grades and the special education teachers. The school thought it was important to inform parents first before anything was undertaken in the school. Hence a letter went out to the parents giving some details of the project and inviting them to be present at a meeting at which the research plan would be discussed in more detail (see Letter to Parent, March, 1973). At the time of this meeting, parents attending filled out the parent questionnaire. Attendance was poor at this meeting so a second letter went out to parents in May, enclosing a questionnaire with a return envelope. (See Letter to Parent, May, 1973.) About 20% of the parents attended the meeting and an additional 40% returned the questionnaire by mail, so that data from the parents were available for over 60% of the sample.

The students were informed of the research in classroom groups and the Sears Aggression Scale was administered at that time. The Sears Aggression Scale as administered differed from the original scale. The choices were collapsed from a four-choice answer ranging from agree to disagree to a dichotomous agree/disagree choice. The investigator and her assistants went into the classroom after clearing with the teacher for an appropriate time, and explained the project as follows:

Introduction and Instructions for Sears Scale

> "We are trying to learn some things about children and television and we would like your help. Some of you may already know this because we have written a letter to your parents asking them if it is all right for you to participate. I'd like to tell you what kinds of things we'd be doing, if you are interested. First, today we would do some multiple choice questions about what you think about some everyday kinds of things. It's not a test - just a way of getting your opinions. Next, we would be seeing you individually for about a half hour each. We will be looking at some interesting pictures.
>
> "Then we would all watch a movie together in the auditorium and afterwards get your opinion about some more things.
>
> "Is there anyone who doesn't want to help us?
>
> "What we would like to do today is to answer some questions on the sheets we're handing out. You will notice that on your paper there is a sentence and two boxes that go with it. We want to know if what the sentence says is like you or not like you. If it is like you, you would answer 'Yes'. If it is not like you, you would answer 'No'. Here's an example on the board.
>
> ☐ ☐ I am 16 years old.
>
> "Now, are any of you 16 years old? Well then you put a check inside the 'No' box. Remember, you will answer either 'Yes' or 'No' so you can't check both boxes. If you have any trouble with the questions, you can raise your hand and we'll come help you. This isn't a test, but please give the best answer you can.
>
> "Does everyone have a pen or pencil? Don't forget your name at the top. Okay, you can start."

The procedure for the special education classes was a little different in that not all children in a class would be participating (because of age) and also because many of these children have major difficutly with reading. The investigator talked with these children individually in their classrooms and then invited them to come in groups of two or three to a special room set up for the purpose. There the Sears Scale was explained and the children either read it themselves and filled it out, or were read to and recorded their own answers. The majority of special education children needed to have the questionnaire read to them. This same procedure was followed for some of the normal learning children who had been absent from their classrooms on the day of the group administration.

In the next few weeks following the introduction of the project, the children were tested individually on the Matching Familiar Figures and the House Test. These two measures were administered by graduate students who had experience in clinical evaluation. Each of these three students tested approximately thirty-five children.

The television film was shown to the children in groups in a small auditorium in mid- to late May. All fifth grade pupils viewed it as a group, and all fourth grade pupils plus the special education children viewed as one group. Aides and teachers in the special education classes helped these children fill out the Post-Test Questionniare. This was completed immediately after showing the film.

IV. Hypotheses

For many of the relationships to be explored in this study, it would be difficult to make specific hypotheses regarding outcome. The investigators were therefore mainly interested in examining these interrelationships as they might occur. However, several outcomes could be hypothesized and are stated below:

1. There will be significant differences in cognitive style between learning disability children and normal learning children. The anticipated direction is that learning disability children will be levelers and impulsive. IQ may interact with cognitive style.
2. Levelers and impulsives will retain fewer significant details and sequences of action than sharpeners and reflectives.
3. Levelers and impulsives will perceive characters and themes in the TV film as extremely violent or extremely prosocial. Conversely sharpeners and reflectives will perceive characters and themes in a more moderate fashion - in other words see both the violent and prosocial elements in the TV film.
4. Personality variables in aggression will determine how the content of the TV will be evaluated. Children high in Projected Aggression and Antisocial Aggression will be more accepting of antisocial aggression in TV. Children high in Aggression Anxiety and Prosocial Aggression will be more accepting of prosocial aggression in TV.
5. Home viewing patterns will be different for levelers versus sharpeners. The hypothesized direction of the difference is that less time spent viewing TV and more supervision of TV viewing will result in a cognitive approach that is more sharpening than leveling.

V. Scoring and Analysis of Pre- and Post-Test Measures

Prior to analysis of the data, scores on some of the measures were summed or factor analyzed.

A. Cognitive Style Tests

Scores on the two cognitive style tests were not summed. That is, the six scores on the House Test and the time and error scores on The Matching Familiar Figures Test were all considered separately, for the main analysis of the data.

B. Parent Questionnaire

Most of the items on the Parent Questionnaire were retained as separate items in the analysis. Certain items grouped themselves into areas such as "parent control over TV viewing", "hours of viewing time", "number of other activities", etc. Inspection of the frequency distributions indicated that scores on a few of these items could be summed. There were three items which concerned the closeness of attention to TV at home (Items 13, 14, 16) and four items which concerned the child's involvement in a TV show (Items 15, 18, 19, 21). These scores were summed to obtain a TV Attention Score and a TV Involvement Score. The only other items which were summed were the activity scores. It did not seem necessary to retain figures for activities in three time periods of the day - morning, afternoon and evening. Hence "Activities Weekday" and Activities Weekend" comprised summed scores here. (See Questionnaire in Appendix for specific items.)

C. Sears Aggression Scale

The data from The Sears Aggression Scale were factor analyzed to simplify the number of dimensions to be dealt with, to allow for generalization beyond the individual items, and to check the a priori groupings of the items proposed by Sears for this Scale. The analysis was a varimax solution, a method that is analytical and orthogonal. This is to say, it operates to maximize the criterion of simple structure by a mathematical means of simplifying the solumns or factors obtained and it preserves independence of the factors so that they are pure, i.e. not correlated with each other. First, principal factors were computed; then the factors were rotated. The number of principal factors and the number of rotated factors were limited.

The analysis of the Sears Scale included all the items on the original scale except those that Sears had intentionally written as buffer items (e.g. #24 "A romantic movie always leaves me feeling dreamy afterward"). Such items were included in the administration of the scale; they were simply not analyzed. Items originally intended by Sears to be scored but later found not to be related to any factor and hence labelled "miscellaneous" were analyzed in this study. There were, then, 57 items analyzed. In the factor analysis of these items, the principal number of component factors was limited to six. These six accounted for a total of 33.5% of the variance. The number of rotated factors was limited to four. These four accounted for 25.5% of the variance. It should be noted that these factors account for a much smaller percent of the variance than is desirable and that therefore great weight should not be placed on their interpretation. Also, since the factors are relatively weak, the paucity of correlations with other measures is understandable. This is not to say, however, that aggression is not related to the other measures. It only implies that the scale as administered to this sample did not relate to the other measures taken.

The factors obtained were: aggression anxiety, physical aggression (antisocial), conventional rule-following, and laissez-faire attitude.

D. Post-Test Questionnaires

The questionnaire administered to the children following the viewing of the TV film was divided into two parts and called A-Form and B-Form. (Both Forms can be found in the Appendix.) The A-Form was designed to measure prosocial identification, antisocial identification, perceived reality of the material, humor, involvement in the show, and acceptability of the show. Since the A-Form was intentionally more complex and would perhaps be of interest to other investigators using a number of different stimuli (e.g. TV film), it was factor analyzed with the same procedure used with the Sears Scale as described above. The principal factors were limited to six and these accounted for 46.7% of the variance of the items. In the chosen situation, the number of rotated factors was also limited to six and these accounted for 50.8% of the variance. The factors obtained were: antisocial attitude, prosocial attitude, humor, identification/involvement acceptability, and non-involvement. More specific information regarding the loadings and a-priori groupings of the items can be found in the tables in the Appendix, along with data on two other factor selections.

Since the six rotated factors of A-Form accounted for a reasonable percent of the total variance, the correlations found between these factors and other measures should be more meaningful than those between the Sears Factors and other measures. The obtained rotated factors did have some resemblance, in the opinion of the authors, to the a-priori categories assigned to the items. This probably was largely due to the fact that the items were similar to items used in other studies (McLeod et al, 1972; Friedman & Johnson, 1972).

B-Form was largely specific to the TV stimulus presented; the items could be divided into two categories. One series of questions were factual in nature and had a right or wrong answer. The total number correct was summed for each child. The remaining questions on B-Form asked the child to evaluate the characters or events in the Mod Squad show on a continuum ranging from prosocial to violent. For example:

> After Linc pulled Frank out of danger from falling down to the bears, Pete hit Frank. What do you think about this?

4. a. Pete was just getting even. I would have done the same thing.
1. b. No one should ever hit anyone else.
2. c. Pete shouldn't have hit him. Two wrongs don't make a right.
3. d. Pete didn't need to hit him that hard.

On an a-priori basis the four answers were assigned weights from 1-4 and the above example was scored as indicated. Therefore, for the B-Form there were two main scores - Number Correct and Evaluation Sum. The only other item considered in the analysis was the amount of time the child took to complete the questionaire. Some children completed A-Form first and others B-Form, but the time recorded was always the total amount of time needed for both questionnaires.

E. Examiner Effects

In all measures but the cognitive style measures, the examiners were the same for all children. For the cognitive style measures, there were three different examiners, each testing only a particular group of children. The three examiners were all graduate students with some experience with children. The examiners read over the instructions provided with the tests for the administration and discussed procedural questions not explicit in the instructions. Each examiner then role-played testing while the others commented.

The children in the regular classrooms were fairly evenly divided across testers but due to practical problems, all the special education children were tested by one examiner only. An analysis of examiner effects was then possible by analyzing the scores of children in regular classes according to examiner. The two MFF measures and the Leveling-Sharpening-Ratio were all checked for tester effects. All three had examiner effects which were significant beyond the .05 level, despite the efforts exerted to standardize the testing procedures. For the two MFF measures, the examiner who tested all the special education children fell between the other two examiners in the analysis of the children in regular classrooms. For those two measures (MFF time and errors), the testing of the special education children need not be regarded as different from the average for the regular class children. However, for the leveling-sharpening-ratio, this examiner did not fall between the other testers in the scores for the regular children. Hence, there could be an examiner effect with regard to the special education children on the leveling-sharpening measure, and conclusions regarding differences between regular and special education children on the leveling-sharpening-ratio must be guarded. (See Tables III, IV, V.)

TABLE III

Examiner Effects on Leveling-Sharpening Ratio

		TESTER			
		DEE	STEVE	RANDAL	
		1	2	3	Total
Leveling-Sharpening 3	8.0 - 9.9 1	23.5% 8	3.0% 1		11.3% 9
	10.0 - 11.9 2	14.7% 5	6.1% 2	7.7% 1	10.0% 8
	12.0 - 13.9 3	14.7% 5	21.2% 5	7.7% 1	16.3% 13
	14.0 - 15.9 4	14.7% 5	33.3% 11	38.5% 5	26.3% 21
	16.0 - 17.9 5	29.4% 10	24.2% 8	15.4% 2	25.0% 20
	18.0 - 19.9 6	2.9% 1	12.1% 4	15.4% 2	8.8% 7
	20.0+ 7			15.4% 2	2.5% 2
	PERCENT	42.5%	41.3%	16.3%	100.0%
	TOTAL	34	33	13	80

Chi-Square 27.021**
Cramer's V 0.411
Significant at .009 with 12 degrees of freedom

TABLE IV

Examiner Effects of MFF Time Scores

	TESTER			
	DEE	STEVE	RANDAL	
MFF 1	1	2	3	Total
3.0 - 5.9 1	11.8% 4		7.7% 1	6.3% 5
6.0 - 8.9 2	41.2% 14	9.1% 3	15.4% 2	23.8% 19
9.0 - 11.9 3	23.5% 8	12.1% 4	46.2% 6	22.5% 18
12.0 - 14.9 4	17.6% 6	9.1% 3	7.7% 1	12.5% 10
15.0 - 17.9 5		15.2% 5	7.7% 1	7.5% 6
18.0 - 20.9 6	5.9% 2	15.2% 5	7.7% 1	10.0% 8
21.0 - 23.9		12.1% 4		5.0% 4
24.0+		27.3% 9	7.7% 1	12.5% 10
PERCENT	42.5%	41.3%	16.3%	100.0%
Total	24	33	13	80

Chi-Square 40.169***
Cramer's V 0.501
Significant under .001 with 14 degrees of freedom

TABLE V

Examiner Effects on MFF Error Scores

		TESTER			
		DEE	STEVE	RANDAL	
		1	2	3	Total
MFF 2	1,2,3 1	8.8% 3	31.0% 9	15.4% 2	18.4% 14
	4,5,6,7 2	14.7% 5	37.9% 11	38.5% 5	27.6% 21
	8,9 3	20.6% 7	20.7% 6	15.4% 2	19.7% 15
	10,11	26.5% 9	6.9% 2	15.4% 2	17.1% 13
	12 - 38	29.4% 10	3.4% 1	15.4% 2	17.1% 13
	PERCENT	44.7%	38.2%	17.1%	100.0%
	TOTAL	34	29	13	76

Chi-Square 17.869*
Cramer's V 0.343
Significant at .023 with 8 degrees of freedom

F. Statistical Analysis

The following statistics were computed using the DATA TEXT Program available through the Bryn Mawr College Computer Center.

1. Two-way Analysis of Variance

Class Placement	by	IQ
Class Placement	by	Sex
Sex	by	IQ

These analyses were computed for the following measures:

Sears Factor Scores
House Test
Matching Familiar Figures Test
Parent Questionnaire
A-Form Factors
B-Form - Number Correct and Evaluation Sum

2. a) Sears Factor Scores with House Test, Matching Familiar Figures, A-Form Factors and B-Form Parent Questionnaire

   b) House Test with Matching Familiar Figures, A-Form, B-Form and Parent Questionnaire

   c) Matching Familiar Figures with A-Form, B-Form and Parent Questionnaire

3. Cross Tabs and Chi Square

Examiner Effects
Analysis of House Test in Relation to Matching Familiar Figures
IQ in relation to cognition style.

The .10 level of significance was selected rather than the .05 level in order to detect differences more clearly.

VI. Results

A. Test of Hypotheses

First let us turn to a discussion of the hypotheses which were formulated at the beginning of the study.

HYPOTHESIS I

> There will be significant differences in cognitive style between learning disability children and normal learning children. The anticipated direction is that learning disability children will be levelers and impulsives. IQ may interact with these variables.

This hypothesis was answered in the two-way analysis of variance in which scores of the regular class children were compared with the scores of the special class children on cognitive style test scores. An examination of the one-way level on this analysis shows that the special class children noticed fewer changes in the House Test had a higher first stop score and a higher Leveling-Sharpening Ratio which meant that they would be considered levelers. In addition they scored a significantly higher number of errors on the MFF test. They were not rapid in response but they did make more errors which is typical of the impulsive child. (See Table VI.)

The children in these special classes had been diagnosed as emotionally disturbed and hence learning disabled in this respect rather than in perceptual-motor areas. Of course, there is known to be overlap in symptom picture in special class children.

Since there was a significant difference in IQ between the special class children and regular class children (See Table II), it was important to know the relationship between cognitive style and IQ. The first step in determining this was a Chi Square analysis of IQ versus MFF and LS scores. Tables VII, VIII and IX show the results of this analysis. Comparing the top and bottom thirds of the time to first response on MFF with four ranges

TABLE VI

Significance Levels for Analysis of Variance

Cognitive Measure

Grouping Variable	L-S 1	L-S 2	L-S 3	MFF 1	MFF 2
Special Class vs Regular Class	.086	.001	.001	Over .500	.082
IQ Grouping 4 Categories	.087	.003	.035	Over .500	Over .500
Interaction of Class and IQ	.012	.001	.006	.185	Over .500

L-S 1 = first stop score
L-S 2 = number of changes
L-S 3 = leveling-sharpening ratio
L-S 4 = sum miscellaneous errors
L-S 5 = sum A errors
L-S 6 = sum B errors

MFF 1 = average time to first response

MFF 2 = number of errors

of IQ, revealed no significant interaction (p over .5 and Cramer's V = .139). When looking at number of errors made on MFF, again comparing top versus bottom third, with four IQ ranges (p .162, Cramer's V .28), this finding was in line with the expectation that higher IQ children would make fewer errors in choosing the figure that matched the stimulus. Summarizing these two analyses, however, one can say that the MFF test is largely independent of IQ.

A similar investigation of the Leveling-Sharpening ratio and IQ using a table plotting seven Leveling-Sharpening ratio groups with four IQ groups, yeilded nonsignificant results (significance over .5, Cramer's V = 0.211). In sum then for this sample, the Leveling-Sharpening ratio, like the MFF measures, was largely independent of IQ.

In the above mentioned two-way analysis of variance of the cognitive style test scores for special education by IQ we can see that on the two-way level, the effects of IQ and special education are significant and their interaction is even more significant. This is true for the First Stop Score on the House Test, the number of changes observed, and the Leveling-Sharpening ratio.* The MFF test by contrast shows little effect of IQ in either time to first response or in number of errors. (See Table VI.) In the latter category, the special education children made significantly more errors, but this result was independent of IQ.

Hence one could conclude that the special education children do manifest a difference in cognitive style compared to the normal learning children. However, the interactive effects of intelligence cannot be discounted. Replication of the experiment with a larger sample of emotionally disturbed children and a more representative range of IQ might lead to more conclusive results.

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* It must be noted that one rather erratic bright child in the special education class accounted for much of the variance.

TABLE VII

Analysis of MFF Time Scores by IQ

IQ

		94 or less	95-109	110-112	125+	
		1	2	3	4	Total
MFF 1	First Third	44.4% 4	46.7% 7	58.3% 14	42.1% 8	49.3% 33
	Third Third	55.6% 5	53.3% 8	41.7% 10	57.9% 11	50.7% 34
	Percent	13.4%	22.4%	35.8%	28.4%	100.0%
	Total	9	15	24	19	67

Chi-Square 1.303
Cramer's V 0.139
Significant over .5 with 3 degrees of freedom

TABLE VIII

Analysis of MFF Error Scores by IQ

IQ

		94 or less 1	95-109 2	110-112 3	125+ 4	Total
MFF 2	First Third	36.4% 4	46.2% 6	37.5% 9	70.6% 12	47.7% 31
	Third Third	63.6% 7	53.8% 7	62.5% 15	29.4% 5	52.3% 34
	Percent	16.9%	20.0%	36.9%	26.2%	100.0%
	Total	11	13	24	17	65

Chi-Square 5.150
Cramer's V 0.281
Significant at .162 with 3 degrees of freedom

TABLE IX

Analysis of Leveling-Sharpening Ratio by IQ

IQ

Leveling-Sharpening 3

	94 or less 1	95-109 2	110-112 3	125+ 4	Total
8.0-9.9 1	5.3% 1		12.5% 4	14.3% 4	9.2% 9
10.0-11.9 2	5.3% 1	10.5% 2	9.4% 3	7.1% 2	8.2% 8
12.0-13.9 3	10.5% 2	10.5% 2	15.6% 5	25.0% 7	16.3% 16
14.0-15.9 4	26.3% 5	31.6% 6	15.6% 5	25.0% 7	23.5% 23
16.0-17.9 5	26.3% 5	26.3% 5	28.1% 9	21.4% 6	25.5% 25
18.0-19.9 6	10.5% 2	10.5% 2	15.6% 5	3.6% 1	10.2% 10
20.0+ 7	15.8% 3	10.5% 2	3.1% 1	3.6% 1	7.1% 7
Percent	19.4%	19.4%	32.7%	28.6%	100.0%
Total	19	19	32	28	98

Chi-Square 13.134
Cramer's V 0.211
Significent over .5 with 18 degrees of freedom

HYPOTHESIS II

> Levelers and Impulsives will retain fewer details and sequences of action from a TV film than will Sharpeners and Reflectives.

This hypothesis was answered in the correlational analysis in which the scores on the two cognitive style tests were correlated with the B-Form Number Correct. There were no significant correlations, and hence one would conclude that there were no relationships and sequences of action between cognitive style tests and the details remembered from the Mod Squad film shown to these children. Hypothesis II was not confirmed.

HYPOTHESIS III

> Levelers and Impulsives will perceive characters and themes in the TV film as extremely violent or extremely prosocial. Conversely, Sharpeners and Reflectives will perceive characters and themes in a more moderate fashion - in other words, see both the violent and prosocial elements in the TV film.

If this hypothesis were true one should expect correlation between cognitive style tests and the A-Form Factor scores and B-Form Evaluation Sum. Examination of the data shows no significant correlations between cognitive style and Factor 1 and Factor 2 of A-Form. These factor scores, it will be remembered, were derived from that part of the questionnaire which attempted to measure prosocial identification, antisocial identification, perceived reality of the material, humor, involvement in the show, and acceptability of this type of show. Factors 1 and 2 approximate the a-priori definitions of prosocial and antisocial identification. The positive correlations with Factor 1 represent the relation between first stop score (L-S .23) errors, (MFF .24) errors and antisocial identification. The negative correlations with Factor 2 represent a negative relation between number of changes perceived, (L-S -.21) (L-S errors -.26) errors and prosocial identification. These two taken together indicate that the child who is prone to perceptual errors and not very observant of changes (levelers) tends to identify more with aggressive or antisocial content from a TV show. Caution must be exercised in accepting this as a strong proof of the hypothesis since only four out of a possible forty-eight correlations were significant.

It is possible that the A-B Questionnaire used as the dependent variable here was not well enough constructed to elicit a significant relationship. Further work with such a questionnaire and replications with other samples might yield different results. According to Thomas' (1971) study, cognitive functioning became more differentiated with age. In her sample of 7½ and 8½ year old boys (contrasted with 5½-6½), exposed to an aggressive film or to a non-aggressive film, there was a relationship between cognitive style and response to the film. With our sample of 9-11 year old children, one might also expect to find a relationship between cognitive style and response to the TV film. Thomas' dependent variable, however, was a behavioral measure and this undoubtedly makes some difference.

Another way of analyzing the data for an answer to both Hypotheses I and II is to look at the analysis of variance for the Special Education versus Regular Class children. Since the children in the Special Education classes were in general seen to be Levelers and Impulsives, did they respond differentially on any of the A-Factors? Interestingly enough the differences were not significant on either Factor 1 or 2, but there were differences on Factor 4 (p .03) and Factor 6 (p .01). On Factor 4 labeled Identification/Involvement, they did tend to identify with characters and be involved in the program. On Factor 6 labeled Non-involvement, the Special Education group scored high -

i.e. indicating that they did not get involved with the program. Thus there is a contradiction - they are not involved according to Factor 6 but they are involved according to Factor 4. One possible explanation for this contradiction is related to the structure of the factor analysis. It seems likely that if factors were fewer, a single factor of involvement might emerge on which the Special Education group might score as being more involved. A more detailed analysis of this dilemma is beyond the scope of this report, but it should be noted here that the contradiction appears to arise from factorial impurity.

The Special Education children remembered fewer significant details (B-Form Number Correct) than the Regular Class children (p=.002). One must remember, of course, the differential in intelligence in these two groups which would have accounted for some of this difference. However, the results of this type of analysis show that if the Special Education are Levelers and "construct relatively undifferentiated and contaminated memories, impressions and imagery of ongoing experiences", then they tend to differ from the normal learning children in the way they respond to the TV stimulus.

HYPOTHESIS IV

> Personality variables in aggression will determine how the content of the TV film will be evaluated. Children high in Projected Aggression and Antisocial Aggression will be more accepting of antisocial aggression in TV. Children high in Aggression Anxiety and Prosocial Aggression will be more accepting of prosocial aggression on TV.

A clear test of this hypothesis could not be obtained due to the disappointing results from the Sears Aggression Scale. The factors derived were very weak and accounted for only a small part of the variance. Examining correlations of the Sears Factors with scores on teh A- and B-Form Questionnaire, we see no significant correlations. At least as measured by the Sears Scale, there is no relationship between various aspects of aggression (as reported by the child) and responses to the TV stimulus. Hypothesis IV is rejected.

HYPOTHESIS V

> Home viewing patterns will be different for Levelers versus Sharpeners. The hypothesized direction of the difference is that less time is spent viewing TV and greater supervision of TV viewing will result in a cognitive approach that is more sharpening than leveling.

Table X shows the results of the correlations between House Test Scores (Leveling-Sharpening) and home viewing patterns. There are a number of significant correlations which are consonant with the hypothesis. The relationships are not strong but they are significant for our sample. The more time spent in watching TV on weekdays, the more likely the child will not perceive changes, will make errors and will have a high Leveling-Sharpening ratio - in other words, measure as a Leveler on the cognitive style test. When total time spent in viewing is analyzed according to time of day the viewing takes place, two significant correlations occur between the number of changes observed and viewing time on weekday evening (-.26) and weekend mornings (-.23); two positive correlations are obtained between number of miscellaneous errors and viewing on weekday afternoons and weekend afternoons, but a negative correlation between errors and weekend viewing. The Levling-Sharpening ratio is negatively related to weekday evening viewing (-.24) indicating that more viewing at this time relates to sharpening rather than leveling. This is a puzzling finding. The correlation here may represent one of those chance, meaningless relationships. The general trend is for Levelers to spend more time viewing, but again the findings are not clear-cut and contain some contradictions. (See Table X.) Another significant relationship occurs between Levelers and number of activities engaged in on weekdays. Levelers engage in fewer activities.

When we turn to parent supervision of TV we again find a few scattered correlations between scores on the House Test and parent control. One finds with more perceptual errors, less likelihood of selection of the program (-.28, -.26). Some parents of Levelers report that they spend more time watching TV with their child. This may represent the fact that these parents also spend a great deal of time before the TV. The negative relation between errors and whether a child owns a TV may simply reflect a social class difference and not be related to parental control over viewing time at home.

The authors would not be willing to state definitely a relationship between home viewing patterns and Leveling-Sharpening dimensions, but it is interesting to see the tendencies to this relationship in these data. One must caution again about a cause and effect relationship. There is no way in which one can assume that frequent TV watching results in a certain cognitive style.

TABLE X

Correlations between House Test Scores and TV Watching

House Test Score	Total Time Weekday	Total Time Weekend	Weekday Afternoon	Weekday Evening	Weekend Morning	Weekend Afternoon	Weekend Evening	Activities Weekdays
L-S 1								
L-S 2	-.22			-.26	-.23			.29
L-S 3	.23			-.24				-.26
L-S 4	.36		.42			.23	-.21	
L-S 5								-.24
L-S 6								

Correlations between House Test Scores and Parent Control

	Has own TV	Parent Selects	Parent Forbids	Parent Watches With	Amt of Time Watch Together	Parent Discusses
L-S 1						
L-S 2						
L-S 3					.20	
L-S 4	-.29					-.28
L-S 5	-.21	-.36				-.26
L-S 6						

Correlations are significant at .10

B. General Findings

Beyond the analysis of data for the hypothesis, there were some general findings of interest which are reported in the following section.

1. Inter- and Intra-Correlations of the MFF and Leveling-Sharpening Tests (House Test)

In the course of doing the study, two questions regarding the cognitive style tests were raised. First, are the separate measures obtained by the two tests significantly related to the other measures on the same test? This is basically a question of the internal consistency of the tests. An example of this first kind of question is, "Does a child who resonds quickly on the MFF test also tend to make more errors on the same test?" Second, "Do the MFF and Leveling-Sharpening tests have any significant relation to each other?" It was thought that a child who is a leveler (i.e. constructs relatively undifferentiated nad contaminated memories) may well also be an impulsive (i.e. a child who does not reflect over alternative possibilities or is not analytical).

To investigate the question of internal consistency for the MFF test, two parts of the distribution were taken for each MFF measure, (i.e. a top group and a bottom group for both resonse time and number of errors). When the groups were divided in halves the results were insignificant. The data were regrouped then, using only the children's scores who scored in the top and bottom thirds of the two measures. The Chi-Square Analysis was signigicant beyond the .001 level.

From the Tables below, it can be seen that the children who made a quick choice in matching the figures also tended to make more errors in their choices. These children are the impulsives. The children who made slow first choices tended to make fewer errors. These children are the reflectives.

TABLE XI

Relationship between

MFF Time Scores and MFF Error Scores

MFF 2 Error Scores

MFF - Time Scores

	First Third	Third Third	Total
First Third 1	8.7% 2	90.0% 18	46.5% 20
Third Third 3	91.3% 21	10.0% 2	53.5% 23
Percent	53.5%	46.5%	100.0%
Total	23	20	43

Chi-Square 28.425***
Significant .001 with 1 degree of freedom

TABLE XII

Relationship between MFF Time Scores and Leveling-Sharpening Ratios

L-S Ratio

MFF 1 Grouped Scores

	First Third	Third Third	Total
First Third 1	54.5% 12	52.2% 12	53.3% 24
Third Third 3	45.5% 10	47.8% 11	46.7% 21
Percent	48.9%	51.1%	100.0%
	22	23	45

Chi-Square - 0.025
Cramer's V - 0.024
Significant over .5 with 1 degree of freedom

TABLE XIII

Relationship between MFF Error Scores
and Leveling-Sharpening Ratio

		L-S Ratio		
		First Third	Third Third	Total
New MFF 2 Grouped Scores	First Third 1	45.8% 11	41.7% 5	44.4% 16
	Third Third 3	54.2% 13	58.3% 7	55.6% 20
	Percent	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	Total	24	12	36

Chi Square - 0.56
Cramer's V - 0.040
Significant over .5 with 1 degree of freedom

Findings are consistent with Kagan's descriptions of this cognitive style (Kagan, 1966).

No internal consistency measure of the Leveling-Sharpening test was undertaken because the author had made it explicit that only one score was critical, the Leveling-Sharpening ratio.

Regarding the second question, considering the relationship of the two cognitive style tests to each other, a preliminary correlation matrix of the six Leveling-Sharpening measures compared to the two MFF measures yielded only one correlation significant at the .05 level; the number of errors on the MFF test were correlated .212 with the sum B measure of the Leveling-Sharpening test. (Sum B is a sum of changes noted by the child concerning information not provided by the House Score.) Then a cross tabulation (dividing the measure into thirds, using only the top and bottom thirds) was computed comparing each MFF measure with the sharpening ratio. (See Tables X and XI.) Neither the time to first response nor the number of errors made on the MFF test had any significant relationship on the Leveling-Sharpening ratio. Both had significance levels over .5 and had Cramer's V correlations of .024 and .040 respectively. Hence, it must be concluded that even when the extremes of the distribution for the measures of the MFF test are compared with the extremes of the Leveling-Sharpening ratio distribution, one cannot predict with any accuracy the score on one test from a score on the other test. In other words, these two cognitive style tests appear to be measureing different kinds of styles which are not related to each other.

2. Sex Differences

In the analysis of the data it was possible to locate differences between boys and girls on the various measures. There were relatively few which were significant, but it is interesting to see what these are.

On the Parent Questionnaire returns, one finds that parents report boys as watching TV more on the weekend afternoons than girls ($p < .01$). This may relate to the greater number of televised sport programs in these hours. On the other hand, girls are reported to watch TV more in the weekday mornings before school ($p < .01$). Several interesting trends can be observed even though the results are not significant. Boys tend to watch TV a greater number of hours per day than girls ($p = .16$), even though boys also are reported to engage in a larger number of other activities on weekends such as sports, clubs, etc. ($p = .13$).

On the Sears Aggression Scale, boys scored lower on the physical aggression factor which is contrary to expectation. It should be remembered, however, that the Sears factors themselves are not that strong. Boys tended to express fewer positive or prosocial attitudes than girls ($p = .03$) in their response to the TV film shown during this experiment.

The cognitive style measures revealed only one significant sex difference, and that was in the time to first response on the Matching Familiar Figures Test. Boys were slower than girls in their response times ($p = .03$).

In general, one can say there were not marked sex differences on the measures used in this study.

3. Viewing Patterns

The parent questionnaire provided the information obtained on the children's viewing patterns. The data is, then, a reflection of the parents' estimation of their children's viewing patterns and is not based on systematic sampling and recording. Nor can the data be expected to be free from contamination from the social desirability of some of the items or the demand characteristics of the form. Parents, when doubtful about their ability to judge, were encouraged to make their best estimate and no estimate of relative confidence in their judgments was taken. All the forms were completed by mothers of the students. About twenty-three filled in the information as a group during a meeting in which they were informed of the nature of the research. About forty-four were mailed in later. With these qualifications, the data can be presented. Number of hours of TV viewing is reported according to time of day - morning, afternoon or evening and weekday or weekend. Also, an estimate of average amount of viewing per day was obtained. These data are presented in graph form. Each graph allows simultaneous camparison of weekday and weekend viewing patterns for a single time block. The graphs are presented below, but a model viewing pattern will be summarized in the table following the graphs, showing the most common estimated number of hours to the closest hour (escept where two-hour estimates have equal frequency) per time block. (See Figures 1-4.)

	Morning	Afternoon	Evening	Total/Day
Weekday	0	0-1	1	2
Weekend	2	0	2	2

The obvious descripancy in the total number of hours per weekend day is due to the fact that the mode is considerably less than the mean in

Figure 1

Relative frequencies of
number of hours of TV viewing
per morning for total sample

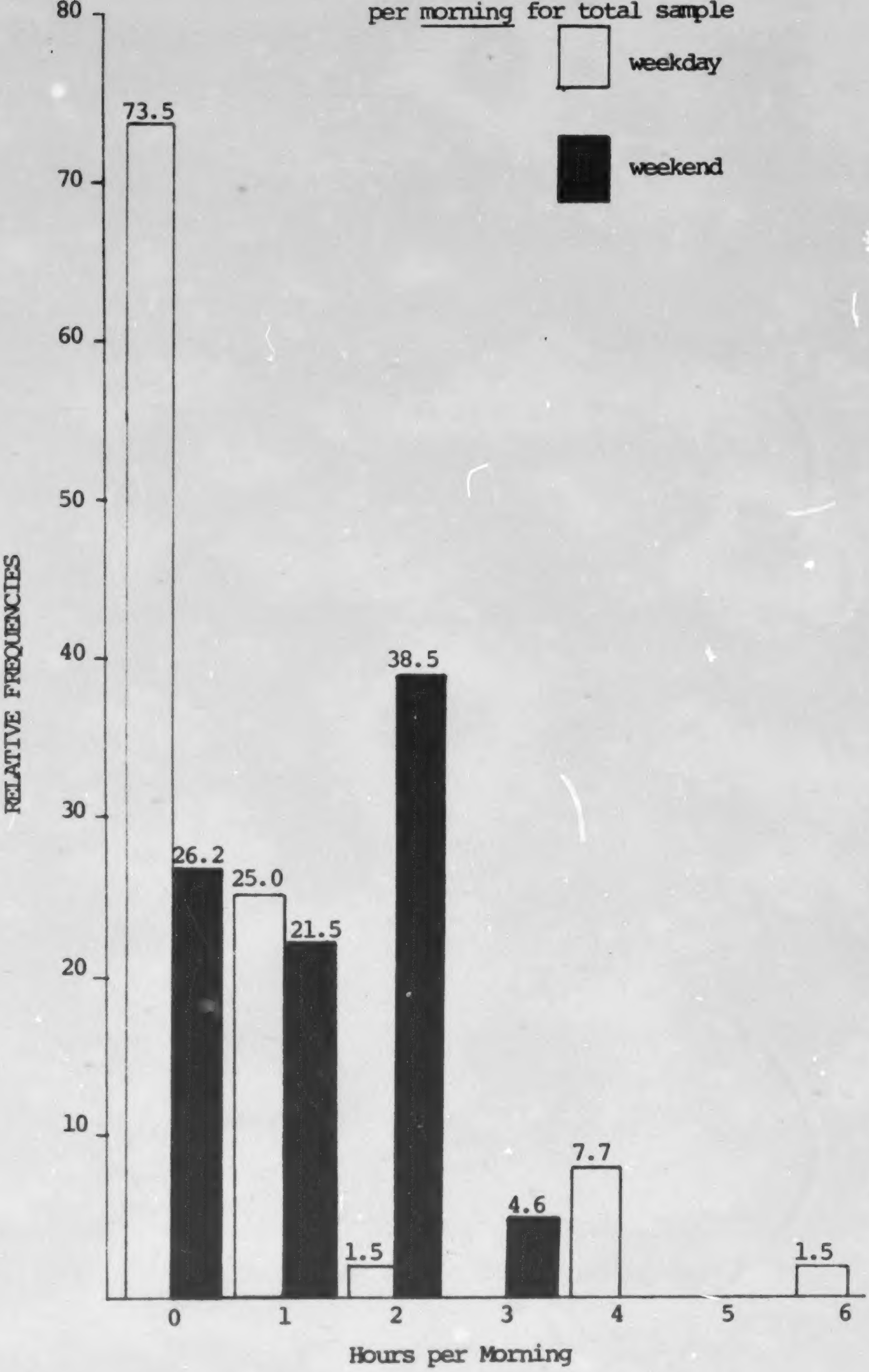


Figure 2

Relative frequencies of number of hours of TV viewing per afternoon for total sample

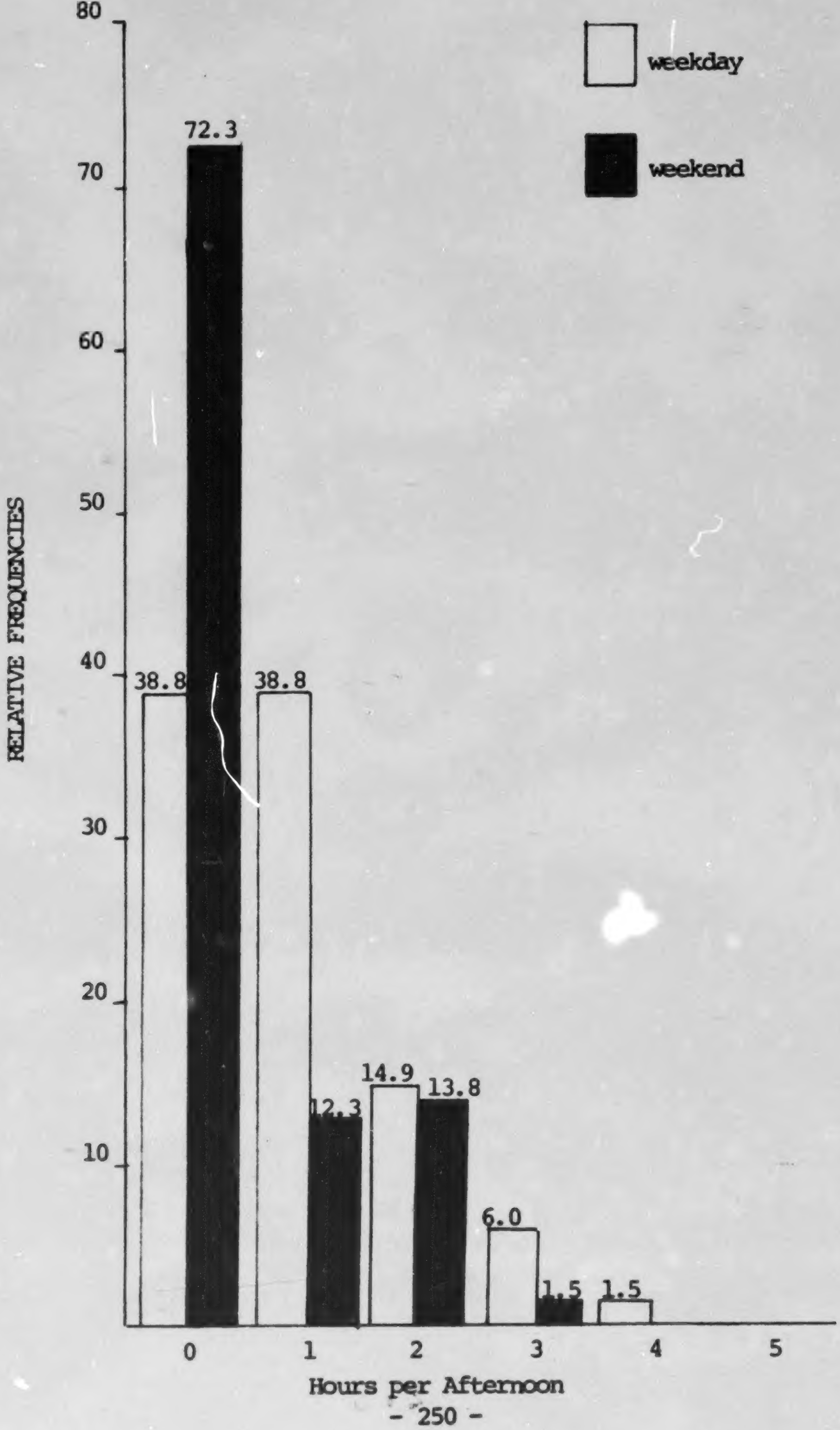


Figure 3

Relative frequencies of
number of hours of TV viewing
per evening for total sample

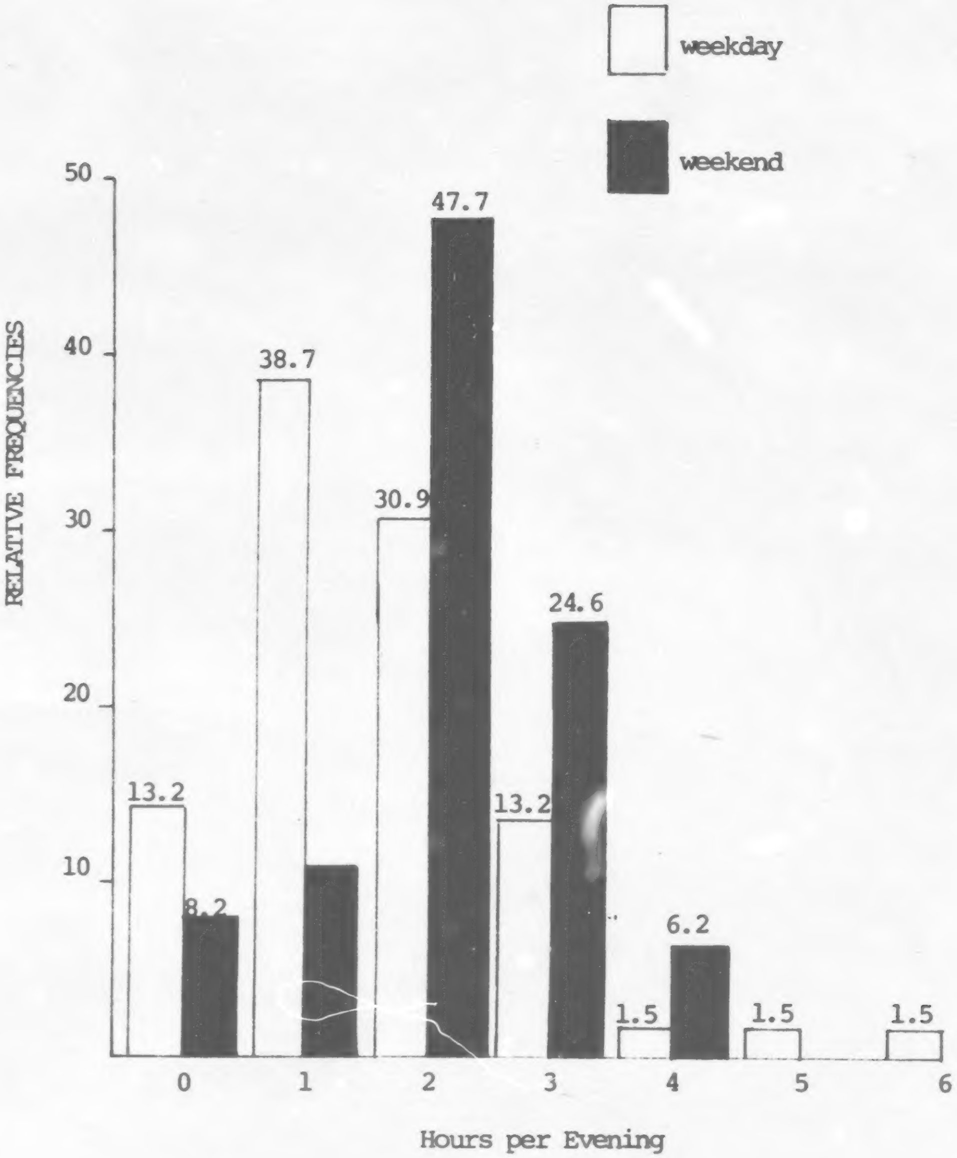
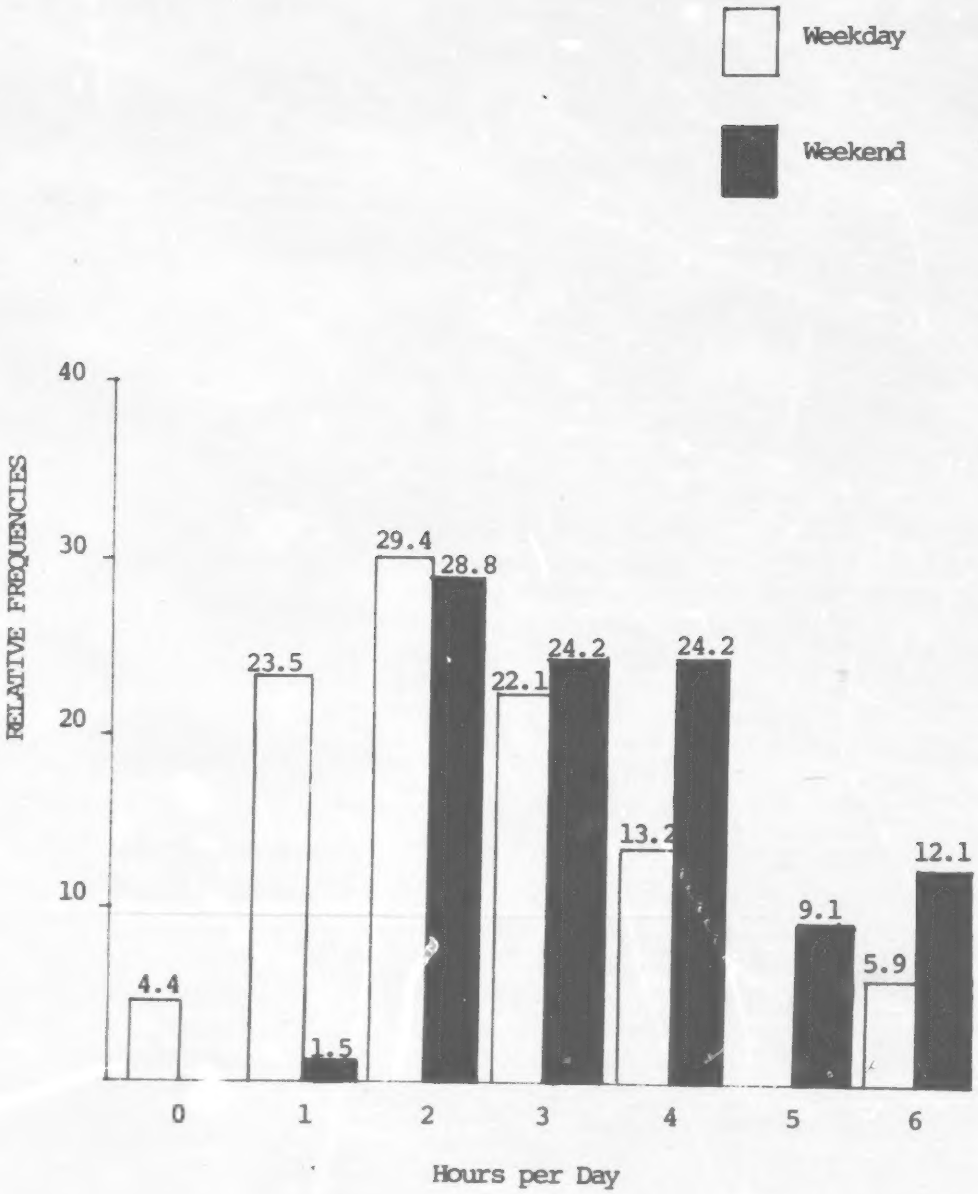


Figure 4

Relative frequencies of number of hours of TV viewing per day for total sample



this case, hence the average would be higher (3.451 hours) and consequently more in line with the other estimations for weekend time blocks.

Statistics concerning parent control over children's viewing and participation with their children indicate the 86.6% of the parents watch some TV with their children - 43.9 listing two or fewer programs watched with their children and 56.1% listing three or more. Parents are split evenly on the question as to whether or not there are any programs they forbid their children to watch, and 48.5% select programs for their children only seldom, 42.6% frequently, and only a small minority always or never. Concerning how often they discuss TV programs with their children, 56.7% responded that they seldom discuss the show, 37.3% frequently discuss, and the remaining 6% were evenly divided between always and never.

The effect of TV on the child's play was explored in three questions. When the parent was asked how often her child incorporated TV material into fantasy play, most (53.0%) responded with "infrequently", and 40.9% with "never". Also, 58.2% of the children never pretend that they are TV characters, 32.8% infrequently, and only 9.0% frequently. Most children never (48.3%) or only infrequently (41.4%)dream about TV material.

In summary according to their mothers' responses, watch TV about two hours a day, mostly in the evening, with a moderate amount of parental guidance and participation in the TV watching, and they seldom incorporate TV material into their play activities. Incidentally, one-third of the children engaged in no other activities while watching TV, and another half are engaged in one or two other activities while watching.

It is interesting to examine also at this time significant differences between viewing patterns for special education children and regular class children, keeping in mind that the number of returns from the special class parents totalled only 14 out of a possible 20. One can see the differences in TABLE XIV.

According to the parents' reports, these children spend more total time in TV viewing than the regular class children. Conversely, they are involved in fewer outside activities on both weekdays and weekends. On weekend evenings they spend less time than regular class children viewing TV. It is difficult to interpret this finding unless it means these children are in bed earlier, or in other ways have less time to watch TV with adults. Perhaps the adults are more controlling in their lives - if we look at another significant item, parent selects TV program". It could be expected that children in special class, by virtue of their emotional difficulties, would have fewer satisfactory peer relations and hence may spend more time with TV. One must also remember that these children often have great difficulty in reading and hence the television may be their primary source of information about the world around them. One cannot say, of course, which is cause and which effect. It would be presumptuous to say watching TV caused emotional disturbance or that being emotionally disturbed causes more TV watching. The relationships are there, whatever the causative factors are.

TABLE XIV

Items on Parent Questionnaire Where

Special Class Children Differed from Regular Class Children

(N = 14)

ITEM		p
# Hrs/weekday	Special Class > Regular Class	.01
# Hrs/weekend	Special Class > Regular Class	.004
# Hrs AM before school	Special Class > Regular Class	.06
# Hrs after school	Special Class > Regular Class	.01
# Hrs weekend evening	Special Class < Regular Class	.02
Activities/weekday	Special Class < Regular Class	.02
Activities weekend	Special Class < Regular Class	.02
Parent selects progam	Special Class > Regular Class	

What conclusions can one draw from the data compiled? It is quite obvious that there are no simple relationships between cognitive style and its effect on children's response to television. The special education children in this sample, classified for the most part as emotionally disturbed, did indeed show differences in cognitive style compared to the normal learning children. However, intelligence was also a factor here.

The significant correlations for the total sample between cognitive style and the responses to the questionnaires given after the TV film were very few in number. Likewise these same relationships when grouped according to whether the children were in special education or not, showed few significant relationships. The trends, however, suggested that children who make perceptual errors are non-analytic in their approach to material identified with and were involved in the TV material differently from the regular class children. The nature of the independent variable - a questionnaire rather than a behavioral measure, a crude scoring system - led to difficulty in interpreting results. The authors did think that this particular questionnaire had some promise for further research and perhaps refinement in replication with other samples of children which would lead to more definitive results.

There was no evidence for a relationship between some inner trait of "aggression" and responses to the television material. What is of the most interest probably in this study is the overview of TV viewing patterns in this particular sample of suburban children. These school age children spend on the average about 2 hours a weekday watching television. (This figure increases on the weekend to 2 - 3 hours.) Specifically, we found that the special education-learning disability children spent more time viewing television and less time in outside activities than the regular class children. Also there was a low positive relationship between the cognitive style - leveling - and patterns of viewing. Levelers also tended to view TV more and their parents provided a bit less control or supervision of their TV viewing.

Of interest to researchers dealing with these two cognitive style tests - Kagan's Matching Familiar Figures and Santostefano's House Test - is their independence from each other and likewise their independence from intelligence.

The authors would want further replication before definitive conclusions were reached. However the findings are intriguing and lead one to think that this exploration of cognitive style and response to television is a fruitful path to pursue.

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PROJECT IX:

RESPONSES OF SUSCEPTIBLE CHILDREN TO VIOLENT VS. PROSOCIAL TELEVISION PROGRAMS

Introduction

The purpose of Project IX was to compare the responses of emotionally susceptible children to two distinctly differing themes of televised drama: network programs with a high level of violent action and prosocial programs with little or no violence.

Project VII compared the viewing responses to two types of dramatic fare, both of which featured violence. The difference between the two types of action- adventure programs in Project VII, however, was thoat one set of television stimuli featured violence with minimal prosocial content, while the other test program contained both violence and significant prosocial content.

What can we say about a direct comparison of child viewer responses to violent vs distinctly prosocial, non-violent television dramas?

For subjects, we retained the same group of emotionally impaired children on whom we had been conducting a longitudinal assessment since the start of our studies in 1970. These children remained an emotionally disturbed child population with whom the Project Director and his research team had ongoing familiarity as a result of their regular clinical and classroom relationships.

The second group of youngsters was also a "susceptible" child population from broken homes. In this instance, youngsters were studied in a different institution. As sometimes occurs in long-term research projects, modifications are occasionally the result of a combination of fate, adaptation and revised planning. Because of the untimely death of one of the key research members and the subsequent opportunity to broaden the sample with another group of youngsters from a different residential home, Project IX was undertaken involving methodology and testing instruments similar to those used in the previous projects involving the so-called susceptible child.

Methodology

Subjects: Two groups of emotionally "vulnerable" children were utilized for this project. The emotionally impaired group consisted of thirty children attending a private, non-profit day school for emotionally disturbed children with learning disability. The age range extended from 10 through 14 and was fairly evenly divided between boys and girls, and black and white youngsters. These children were considered to have at least average intellectual endowment, despite their poor history of academic achievement. The great majority of these emotionally impaired children were living at home with a more or less "intact" family.

In contrast to the institutional children described in our previous studies, the following broken home group consisted of some 60 emotionally troubled children who had generally experienced significant home instability in their early developmental years. These children were evenly divided between boys and girls, and comprised a representation of black and white children. The age range extended from 8 through 15. The children from this broken home sample bore considerably more psychological (as well as physical) scars from deprivation and abuse than did our previously studied residential children. The present broken home group constituted the more impaired or "high risk" sample. Thus, of the two emotionally vulnerable groups in this Project, it is the emotionally impaired youngsters who are the more psychologically intact by comparison, and it is this institutional group of children from broken homes who present the most pervasive emotional problems.

Nature of the Stimuli: Six complete television programs were used as stimuli in this study. Three programs consisted of action-adventure drama with a number of violent segments.

Three additional programs were considered to be representative of prosocial viewpoint. They put more stress on motivations, and on understanding of issues which were portrayed in a more psychological than action-oriented manner, although action was not lacking. The selected films are listed hereunder.

Programs: *with violent action*	"Crime Without Victim" (*Toma*) "The Payoff" (*FBI*) "The Assassin" (*Kung Fu*)
Programs: *with prosocial themes*	"Psst - Hammerman's After You" (Wednesday After School Special) "Rookie of the Year" (Wednesday After School Special) "The Mysterious Mole" - Magical Mystery Trip

Each of the children saw three "violent" and three "prosocial" programs.

Exposure to the programs was preceded by pre-evaluation, base-line testing and followed by post-evaluation testing. Although these tests are similar to those which have been previously described they are summarized again so that each of the projects can be set out independently of the others as separate reports of distinct studies.

Test Instruments: Pre-evaluation base line measures were administered to all subjects to evaluate their status prior to the introduction of the television stimulus variables. Post evaluation measures were re-administered at the end of the project to ascertain if any changes had taken place in the subjects, attributable to the television stimuli.

A. Base-line (pre-test) measures

1. Television Attitude Questionnaire

This measure assesses basic attitudes that are associated with television viewing. Its items touch such areas as the perceived learning of aggression ("These programs show me how to get back at people who make me angry"); association of television violence to real life ("Some characters remind me of people who have made me mad"); emotional involvement with television programs (I get excited when I watch television"); identification with violent characters; and perceived efficacy of violent action or force ("The guy who gets tough gets his way").

In addition to antisocial attitudes, statements concerned prosocial attitudes as well (" I want to be like people on the program who do good things just because they want to").

Other test items focus on more general empathic involvement, ("I forget that characters on television are just actors playing roles"). The Television Attitude Questionnaire was adapted and modified from an instrument devised by McLeod, Atkin and Chafee.[43]

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[43] McLeod, J., Atkin, C. and Chaffee, S., "Adolescents, Parents and Television Use", Television and Social Behavior, vol. III, Surgeon General's Report, 1972

The child could respond to a negative (antisocial) attitude-statement, a positive, (prosocial) attitude-statement, or an empathic attitude-statement by indicating his own agreement with that statement as "often", "sometimes", or "never".

"Often" reactions were given a value of 3, "sometimes" reactions were given a value of 2, and "never" reactions were given a value of 1.

Three scores were obtained from this instrument for each child at two intervals: one at the pre-evaluation stage, and one at the post-evaluation stage (following exposure to the television stimuli). The three scores denoted negative attitudes, positive attitudes and empathic attitudes.

2. Situations Test

In response to seven hypothetical, but plausible, situations which focused on aggression encounters, the subject had to respond "yes" or "no" regarding the use of the following modalities in each situation.

Passivity - "do nothing", no assertiveness. This was assigned a value of 1.

Covert Aggression - wishes or fantasies of an aggressive, retaliatory nature ("I hope something bad happens to him"). This was assigned a value of 2.

Verbal Aggression - the use of speech ("I'd give the kid a piece of my mind"). This was assigned a value of 3.

Direct Aggression - use of direct personal body contact, ("Hit him with your fist"). This was assigned a value of 4.

Severe Instrumental Aggression - the use of another object or weapon against a person ("Hit him with a rock or something real hard"). This was assigned a value of 5.

Thus, a total score could be derived from each child at two intervals (pre-evaluation and post-evaluation). The higher the score, the more openly aggressive are the child's responses.

3. Composite Aggression Inventory

This inventory was composed of twenty-six declarative statements concerning various aspects of aggression with which the subject could indicate his agreement ("yes"), disagreement ("no"), or show his ambivalence or reservations ("maybe").

This inventory is a composite of the more reliable test items from existing instruments. These include a group of measures from Sears' work, focusing on the approval of violence.[44] Another group of statements from Buss and Durkee's work concerns the expressed willingness to use violence.[45] A third group of statements focuses on the subject's perceived effectiveness of violence.

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[44] Sears, R.R., "Relation of Early Socialization Experiences to Aggression in Early Childhood", op. cit.

[45] Buss, A. H., Durkee, A., and Baer, M., "Measurement of Hostility in a Clinical Situation", op. cit.

A "yes" response was assigned a value of 3. A "no" response was assigned a value of 2. A "maybe" response was assigned a value of 2 as well. This instrument was administered to each child at pre- and post-intervals.

Further dependent variables which were focused upon both in direct clinical observation and specific testing included the willingness to use violence. A number of items from the Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory* measure the child's willingness to use violence in real life. Declarative sentences in this Inventory deal with whether or not the child would use some sort of physical violence. (For example, "Anyone who insults me or my family is asking for a fight.")

The third dependent variable concerned perceived effectiveness of violence. These testing items measured the child's opinions of how effective violence was as a means of solving problems. (For example, "A fight is the best way to settle an argument once and for all.")

A fourth dependent variable measured in psychological testing dealt with suggested solutions to conflict situations. In these test items, a potentially frustrating situation was described, and the child responded with the one thing he would most likely do in that situation. (For example, "Pretend someone you know tells lies about you. What would you do?") The dimensions between violent and non-violent "solutions" were measured and rated.

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* See Appendix.

B. Program Measures (Situational Tests)

These so-called Program Measures were administered to each child at the end of each of the six television programs.

1. Story Review

The Story Review, also known as the Movie Review or TV Review, had two parts. One part pertained to characters whom the children perceived as "good" in the program, and a second portion pertained to the characters perceived as "bad". Each part of the Story or TV Review had questions bearing on the degree and extent to which the child would "model" himself on either type of character. This modeling was expressed in terms of the whole personality, particular details of the behavior, and in the degree of acceptance or rejection of particular instruments of aggression.

The questions were designed to elicit areas of modeling and imitation of violent and/or prosocial material in the films. The Story Review also was used to evaluate the child's awareness of details, his comprehension, and the assimilation of factual program content, as well as the "message" or moral of the program.

2. Television Arousal Questionnaire

This instrument was adapted from the work of Greenberg and Gordon[46] and was modified for the purposes of this project. The instrument requires that the subject indicate his reaction to various emotions and affects portrayed in the particular television stimulus just seen. It deals with these emotions in the context of perceived violence, acceptability of the various television characters, professed enjoyment of the television program, and perceived reality of the program. In his answers, the subject had one of three choices. For example, the question was posed:

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[46] Greenberg, B.S., and Gordon, T.F., "Social Class and Racial Differences in Children's Perceptions of Television Violence", op. cit.

> "Was what you saw not serious? (value of 1)
> a little serious? (value of 2)
> very serious? (value of 3)."

This instrument or test seeks to provide some index of the emotional impact of the television show as it is felt and appreciated by the subject.

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

A. Data, Pre- and Post-Evaluation Measures

1. The Television Attitude Questionnaire results, concerning such areas as learning of perceived aggression, association of television portrayed violence to real life situations, emotional involvement with television programs, identification with violent characters in the programs, and perceived efficacy of violence are recorded as Negative Attitudes. Table I also give findings perceived as positive, as well as neutral empathic attitudes in response to the program stimuli.

TABLE I:

TELEVISION ATTITUDE TEST

Perceived Learning of Aggressive, Prosocial and Empathic Attitudes In the Response of Emotionally Vulnerable Children to Television Programs

	Less Disturbed Group (N=30)		Most Disturbed Group (N=60)	
	Pre-Eval.	Post-Eval.	Pre-Eval.	Post Eval.
		Negative Attitudes		
M.	11.59	13.84	13.45	14.06
S.D.	2.45	4.36	2.26	2.36
S.E.$_M$	0.48	1.03	0.34	0.45
		Positive Attitudes		
M.	14.00	14.05	14.82	15.65
S.D.	2.80	2.13	2.32	2.33
S.E.$_M$	0.55	0.50	0.34	0.44
		Empathy		
M.	12.33	13.05	14.30	15.31
S.D.	2.12	2.26	2.28	2.84
S.E.$_M$	0.42	0.53	0.34	0.54

M=Mean S.D.=Standard Deviation S.E.$_M$=Standard Error of Mean

There were no significant differences in pre/post attitude scores within either group.*

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* Although within-group scores did not reach a significant t at the 5% level, several came close. L.D. Negative Attitude scores very nearly approached significance; $t=1.97$, df=58, $p > .05$. Significant t at 5% = 2.00. M.D. Positive Attitude scores $t=1.50$, df=118, $p > .05$. (Significant $t = 1.96$.) M.D. Empathy scores $t=1.58$, df=118, $p > .05$. (Significant $t = 1.96$.)

TABLE II presents the differences between both groups (either pre or post) which were statistically significant.

TABLE II:

TELEVISION ATTITUDE TEST

Significant Group Differences

	M	SED	t	df	p
Negative Attitudes (Pre)					
L.D.	11.59	0.59	3.15	88	<.01
M.D.	13.45				
Empathy (Pre)					
L.D.	12.33	0.55	3.58	88	<.01
M.D.	14.30				
Positive Attitudes (Post)					
L.D.	14.05	0.66	2.42	88	<.05
M.D.	15.65				
Empathy (Post)					
L.D.	13.05	0.76	2.97	88	<.01
M.D.	15.31				

M=Mean SED=Standard Error of Difference

The Most Disturbed children showed more negative attitudes and empathy than the Less Disturbed children on the Television Attitude Test before the project began. The Most Disturbed children showed more positive attitude and empathy than L.D. children on the Television Attitude Test at the end of the project.

2. The Situation Test group scores are presented in Table III.

TABLE III:

SITUATION TEST

Preference for Violent Solutions to Conflict in Emotionally Susceptible Children Before and After Viewing Television Programs

	Less Disturbed Group (N=30)		Most Disturbed Group (N=60)	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
M.	45.23	49.08	41.36	40.34
S.D.	18.79	28.3[illegible]	20.84	24.66
S.E.$_{M.}$	3.49	6.60	3.68	3.76

M=Mean   S.D.=Standard Deviation   S.E.$_{M.}$=Standard Error of the Mean

No significant differences were found.

3. The Composite Aggressive Inventory group scores are presented in Table IV.

TABLE IV:

COMPOSITE AGGRESSION INVENTORY

Affect Arousal of Susceptible Children In Response to Violent, Prosocial TV Dramas

	Less Disturbed Group (N=30)		Most Disturbed Group (N=60)	
	Prosocial TV Scores	Violent TV Scores	Prosocial TV Scores	Violent TV Scores
M.	36.83	39.16	41.35	40.22
S.D.	5.26	4.79	6.67	4.89
S.E.$_{M.}$	0.58	0.54	0.59	0.42

M.=Mean   S.D.=Standard Deviation   S.E.$_{M.}$=Standard Error of the Mean

No significant differences were found.

B. PROGRAM MEASURES:

1. Story Review group scores are shown in Table V.

TABLE V:

STORY REVIEWS

Modeling Scores on Good and Bad Characters in Prosocial and Violent TV Programs

	LESS DISTURBED CHILDREN (N=30)			
	Prosocial TV Programs		Violent TV Programs	
	Bad Model Scores	Good Model Scores	Bad Model Scores	Good Model Scores
M.	7.55	8.18	9.25	9.05
S.D.	2.26	2.32	2.22	2.49
$S.E._{M.}$	0.25	0.26	0.25	0.28
	MORE DISTURBED CHILDREN (N=60)			
M.	7.45	8.83	8.45	9.12
S.D.	2.34	2.26	2.07	2.16
$S.E._{M.}$	0.21	0.20	0.19	0.20

M=Mean S.D.=Standard Deviation $S.E._{M.}$ =Standard Error of the Mean

TABLE VI:

COMPARISONS OF GOOD AND BAD MODELING SCORES ON STORY REVIEWS

Less Disturbed Children
(N=30)

	M	SED	t	df	p
Prosocial Programs					
Bad Modeling	7.55	.34	1.85	58	>.05
Good Modeling	8.18				
Violent Programs					
Bad Modeling	9.25	.36	.55	58	>.05
Good Modeling	9.05				
Bad Modeling (Prosocial Prog.)	7.55	.34	5.00	58	<.01
Bad Modeling (Violent Prog.)	9.25				
Good Modeling (Prosocial Prog.)	8.18	.36	3.07	58	<.01
Good Modeling (Violent Prog.)	9.05				

M=Mean S.E.D.=Standard Effor of Difference

The Less Disturbed group of children showed no significant differences in good or bad modeling after viewing prosocial programs. They also showed no significant differences in good and bad modeling after viewing violent programs. However, these children did show significantly more bad modeling after viewing violent programs compared to their bad modeling after viewing prosocial programs. Interestingly, they also showed significantly more good modeling after viewing violent programs than after viewing prosocial programs.

TABLE VII:

COMPARISONS OF GOOD AND BAD MODELING SCORES ON STORY REVIEWS

Most Disturbed Children
(N=60)

	M	SED	t	df	p
Prosocial Programs					
Bad Modeling	7.45	.28	4.92	118	$<.01$
Good Modeling	8.83				
Violent Programs					
Bad Modeling	8.45	.26	2.57	118	$<.01$
Good Modeling	9.12				
Bad Modeling (Prosocial Prog.)	7.45	.26	3.84	118	$<.01$
Bad Modeling (Violent Prog.)	8.45				
Good Modeling (Prosocial Prog.)	8.83	.28	1.03	118	$>.05$
Good Modeling (Violent Prog.)	9.12				

M=Mean S.E.D.=Standard Error of Difference

The Most Disturbed group of children showed significantly more good modeling than bad modeling on Story Reviews after viewing prosocial programs. They also showed significantly more good modeling than bad after viewing violent programs. These children showed significantly more bad modeling after viewing violent television programs than after prosocial programs. They showed no significant differences in good modeling after viewing violent or prosocial programs.

TABLE VIII:

COMPARISONS OF GOOD AND BAD MODELING ON STORY REVIEWS

Less Disturbed and Most Disturbed Children

	M	SED	t	df	p
Prosocial Programs					
Bad Modeling (L.D.)	7.55	.31	.16	88	>.05
Bad Modeling (M.D.)	7.45				
Good Modeling (L.D.)	8.18	.31	2.09	88	<.01
Good Modeling (M.D.)	8.83				
Bad Modeling (L.D.)	7.55	.31	4.12	88	<.01
Good Modeling (M.D.)	8.83				
Violent Programs					
Bad Modeling (L.D.)	9.25	.30	2.66	88	<.01
Bad Modeling (M.D.)	8.45				
Good Modeling (L.D.)	9.05	.28	.25	88	>.05
Good Modeling (M.D.)	9.12				
Bad Modeling (L.D.)	9.25	.32	.41	88	>.05
Good Modeling (M.D.)	9.12				

M=Mean S.E.D.=Standard Error of Difference

L.D.=Less Disturbed M.D.=Most Disturbed

No significant differences were found between the Less Disturbed and Most Disturbed children in bad modeling after viewing prosocial programs, or in good modeling after viewing violent programs. The Most Disturbed children had significantly higher good modeling scores on the Story Reviews than did the Less Disturbed children after viewing prosocial programs. The Less Disturbed children had significantly higher bad modeling scores than did the Most Disturbed children after viewing violent programs.

2. Television Arousal Questionnaire scores and other findings follow in Tables IX - XI.

TABLE IX:

TELEVISION AROUSAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Arousal of Feeling of Emotional Susceptible Children in Response to Violent and Prosocial Television Programs

	Less Disturbed Group (N=30)		Most Disturbed Group (N=60)	
	Prosocial Show Scores	Violent Show Scores	Prosocial Show Scores	Violent Show Scores
M.	36.83	39.16	41.35	40.22
S.D.	5.26	4.79	6.67	4.89
S.E.$_{M.}$	0.58	0.54	0.59	0.42

M=Mean S.D.=Standard Deviation S.E.$_{M.}$=Standard Error of Mean

TABLE X:

TELEVISION AROUSAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Comparisons of Arousal Scores for Prosocial vs. Violent Programs for Less Disturbed and Most Disturbed Groups

	M	SED	t	df	p
LESS DISTURBED GROUP					
Prosocial Programs	36.83	.78	2.95	58	<.01
Violent Programs	39.16				
MOST DISTURBED GROUP					
Prosocial Programs	41.35	.71	1.59	118	>.05
Violent Programs	40.22				

M=Mean S.E.D.=Standard Error of Difference

The Less Disturbed children had significantly higher arousal scores for violent rather than prosocial programs. There was no difference in scores after viewing either type of program for the Most Disturbed children.

TABLE XI:

TELEVISION AROUSAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Comparisons of Arousal Scores for Less Disturbed vs. Most Disturbed Children After Viewing Prosocial or Violent Programs

	M	SED	t	df	p
LESS DISTURBED GROUP					
Prosocial Programs	36.83	.83	5.44	88	<.01
Violent Programs	41.35				
MOST DISTURBED GROUP					
Prosocial Programs	39.16	.67	1.58	88	>.05
Violent Programs	40.22				

M=Mean S.E.D.=Standard Error of Difference

The Most Disturbed group had significantly higher arousal scores than the Less Disturbed group after viewing prosocial programs. There were no differences between the Less Disturbed and Most Disturbed groups after viewing violent programs.

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Discussion and Conclusions

First, let us examine the situational effects, or program measures obtained after each television viewing. These program measures are dependent on whether the content of the particular television program was prosocial or violent. Three programs stressed prosocial values, and three programs were essentially violent. The responses to each of the three films in each of the two categories were statistically grouped and averaged to produce a prosocial or violent score on each test instrument.

The story Review was one of the test instruments utilized to measure the differential effects of either prosocial or violent television materials. This measure was designed, under the guise of a "TV-Movie Review", to elicit from the children the extent to which they indicated their preference for modeling themselves after various characters and categories of behavior in each of the two types of program stimuli. Thus, the range of modeling choices is drawn from both "good" and "bad" characters in both prosocial and violent television program stimuli.

The questions in this instrument were designed to elicit the child's reactions to the personality of the character, as well as to the particular modality or instruments of aggression employed in each of the television dramas. These modeling phenomena range from direct imitation to non-imitation and counter-imitation.

In scoring these measuers, the highest numerical value was attached to direct imitation of either the "good" or "bad" characters. The Story Review thus bears on one of the major lines of inquiry pursued in this project: the investigation of modeling and imitative choices and behavior. See Tables V-VIII.

In examining the reaction of the two groups of children on the Story Review measurements following their viewing of the prosocial television materials, it is seen that there are two statistically significant comparisons, one being within the group, (intra), and one being in comparison between the two groups of children (inter).

Within the most disturbed group, the children showed preferences to model or imitate the "good" characters rather than the "bad" characters to a highly significant degree in the prosocial programs and violent programs (Table VII, page 274).

In comparing the two groups with each other, the most disturbed children showed significantly greater preferences to model or imitate the "good" characters than did the less disturbed children.

This data in the above two findings associated with prosocial content is in itself revealing. This data shows that there is an across-the-board or generalized phenomenon: the most impaired children responded strongly to, and identified with, the "good" forces in the prosocial television dramas. This finding is reflected when the most disturbed children are examined for modeling reactions to "good" vs "bad" characters. It also is seen in the greater responsiveness of the most disturbed children to the "good" models in the prosocial drama, in comparison to the findings with the less disturbed group of children.

Examining the reaction of the two groups of children on the Story Review instruments (Tables V-VIII) to the more violent television stimuli, we again find two statistically significant comparisons, one being intra-group and one being inter-group. In the intra-group comparison, the most disturbed children repeated the same pattern in response to the violent television dramas that was demonstrated in response to the prosocial television dramas: namely, the most disturbed children showed significantly greater preferences to model or imitate the "good" characters over the "bad" characters in violent action-dramas. (See Table VII, page 274.)

In comparing the two groups (inter), after viewing violent programs the less disturbed children showed significantly greater preference to model or imitate the "bad" characters than did the children from broken homes. (See Table VIII, page 275.) This data indicates a complete reversal of pattern when compared to the inter-group findings for the prosocial television materials, in which the preferences of most disturbed children for "good" modeling were higher than the less disturbed group's preference for "bad" modeling.

Again, in response to both the violent as well as the prosocial television dramas, the less disturbed group of children showed no significant intra-group differences between their preferences for "good" vs "bad" models.

The indications of a pervasive and general phenomenon operating within the institutionalized children from broken homes is further reinforced when it becomes apparent that this group showed greater responsiveness to modeling and imitating the personality characteristics, modes of behavior and styles of the "good" characters, regardless of the prevailing atmosphere of the television drama (either prosocial or violent). This finding is reflected in both intra-group and one inter-group comparisons.

As indicated, there is an identical pattern of significantly greater "good" modeling preferences of the most disturbed children than "bad" modeling preferences of the less disturbed group in response to both prosocial and violent television dramas. Another direct manifestation of this phenomenon is particularly evident in response to the prosocial television dramas in which we find that the "good" models of the most disturbed children are significantly greater than the "good" models of the less disturbed children (Table VIII, page 275). Thus, with reference to prosocial content, the institutionalized most disturbed children are particularly attuned to the "good" message. In an indirect or oblique way, this is reflected in their response to violent television dramas, in which their identification with "bad" models is significantly below the measurements of the less disturbed children with learning disorders. (See Table VII, page 274.)

In reviewing the data, the absence of certain statistically significant relationships should be noted. In examining findings, absent relationships or failure to find something can in themselves be a finding. Thus, the less disturbed group of children with learning disorders showed no significant intra-group comparison between their preferences for "good" or "bad" models in their reaction to the prosocial television dramas. (Table VIII, page 275.)

The consistency that the most disturbed group displayed in their statistically significant, differential choice of models is matched by the consistency of the less disturbed group in their non-significant differential choices. It is striking that just as the violent or prosocial content of the television drama had no effect on the most disturbed group findings, inasmuch as they invariably sought "good" models, prosocial or violent content also had no differential effect on the less disturbed group inasmuch as they continued to divide their loyalties to "good" and "bad" models in response to both types of television dramas. The only significant difference manifested by the less disturbed group was in comparison to the most disturbed children, but never in cmoparison to itself. Some implications may follow from this.

This is the second population of institutionalized children from broken homes whom we have studies. With reference to the group of emotionally impaired children with learning disorders, attending special classes in a day school, the first group of institutionalized children from broken homes were psychologically more "intact", and showed less psychopathology in general than did the emotionally impaired group with learning disorders.

The present project currently involving the fourth year of ongoing study of the emotionally impaired group, introduced a second population of institutionalized children from broken homes*. Four cottages, each containing fifteen children, were studied in this second broken home population. There were two cottages of boys and two cottages of girls ranging in age from eight to fifteen. It was clinically apparent that in comparison with our long-standing emotionally impaired group with learning disorders which was clearly a "child psychiatric" population, the institutionalized children from broken homes in the present project had an even higher level of psychopathology and emotional impairment.

Inasmuch as this second institutionalized group of children from broken homes now constitutes the most vulnerable or "high risk" group in the present study, their preference and involvement with prosocial rather than violent models is reminiscent of one of Feshbach's[47] reported effects of television viewing. One of Feshbach's major findings, in contrast to a number of studies reported by the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee[48] was that viewing violent television programs reduced rather than stimulated the acting out of aggressive tendencies in certain types of children. Feshbach and Singer's populations of subjects closely resembled our most disturbed children (institutionalized children from broken homes) in that these are children from low socio-economic homes who had to be removed from disorganized family settings, and who had strong aggressive tendencies coupled with weak inhibitory and ego controls.

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* The subjects in all three of these susceptible child samples were not merely tested and followed up, but were the children with whom the project directors and teachers who assisted the research teams were intimately familiar.

In general, television material served as a perceptive organizer or focusing vehicle which assisted such children in crystallizing their functioning on a higher rather than a lower level of integration. Although details of Feshbach's study and the current project are not identical, the direction of the findings and certain implications are similar. For at least this type of emotionally vulnerable child, the plausible implication reapppears that television programs can provide a kind of "organizing vehicle" for certain cognitive supports and auxiliary ego-strengths which these children require.

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[47] Feshbach, S. and Singer, R.D., Television and Aggression, op. cit.

[48] Television and Social Behavior, A Technical Report to the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee. op. cit.

Examining the results of the second situational Program Measure, administered to each child following the viewing of each prosocial or violent film, provides us with further significant findings. This measure was the so-called Television Arousal Index adapted from the work of Greenberg and Gordon.[49] The results obtained in the use of this instrument reveal two significant statistical comparisons, one being intra-group, and the second being inter-group comparison, the less disturbed children (emotionally impaired children with learning disorders) showed a significantly higher degree of stimulation or arousal of feeling after seeing violent television fare than they manifested after viewing prosocial programs. Thus, the emotionally impaired group with learning disorders (paradoxically, the more "intact" group in comparison to the present population of most disturbed institutionalized children from broken homes), received more emotional impact from aggressive charged content than from prosocial content. Thus, one must know the individual children in a research population in addition to their group diagnostic category and their setting.*

In the inter-group comparison, we find that the most disturbed children (institutionalized children from broken homes) experienced a significantly greater degree of affective arousal or response to the prosocial television stimuli than did the emotionally impaired children with learning disorders, who were less disturbed.

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[49] Greenberg, B.S. and Gordon, T.F., "Social Class and Racial Differences in Children's Perceptions of Television Violence", Television and Social Behavior, vol. 5, 185. op. cit.

* This is well-known to clinicians who have worked with institutionalized children, and who have reported wide variations of psychopathology from one institution to another, presumably handling the same type of population. This reflects admissions policies, among other variables.

These less disturbed children with learning disorders also reveal interesting findings on the arousal measure. The "arousal" of feelings measured by the Television Arousal Index in actuality refers to levels of awareness of feelings stimulated by the television program, and to varying thresholds of experienced feeling in such choices as "cruel"; "a little cruel".

The measures obtained by this instrument do not pertain to the more specific and action-oriented aspects of modeling and imitation previously discussed in the Story Review. Thus, the affect arousal measure relates more to the "background" of multiple affective perceptions; while the imitation factor relates more to the specific foreground in the figure-ground relationship. In this sense the heightened arousal of the less disturbed children (emotionally impaired-learning disordered group) to violent content is consistent with the previous findings of Feshbach[50] as well as Stein and Friedrich[51] which stresses the differential value of the arousal of emotion for particular groups in response to television stimuli. Thus, Stein and Friedrich, noting a general decline in self-controlling behavior for all children exposed to violent television content, go on to report that for more psychologically intact children the reduction in self-control was accompanied by increased social interaction that was primarily cooperative. They state, "It appears, therefore, that the aggressive programs had a generally stimulating effect for the higher socio-economic status children that led to higher social interaction and lower levels of personal control". This conclusion seems to fit the less disturbed children (emotionally impaired-learning disordered group which, in the present study, was the more "intact" of the two groups), though they were not of high socio-economic status.

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[50] Feshbach, S., and Singer, R.D., op. cit.

[51] Stein, A.H. and Friedrich, L.K., "Television Content and Young Children's Behavior", Television and Social Behavior, vol. II, page 202.

For the most disturbed children (institutionalized children from broken homes) there was a thread of consistency inasmuch as their reaction to both imitation choices and arousal of feeling were both highlighted by prosocial television content. It is possible that this kind of pattern may be related to a finding noted in Greenberg and Gordon's study.[52] These authors found evidence that pre-teen children from a lower-class background with increased environmental exposure to actual violent behavior, will perceive less violence in television programs.

Of the three tests administered as part of the pre-post-evaluation one showed significant pre-post differences, the Television Attitude Questionnaire. It will be recalled that this test instrument had three different components: a negative television attitude subtest, dealing with subject's perception of antisocial attitudes stimulated by the television materials; a positive television attitude dealing with the subject's perception of prosocial attitudes stimulated by the television drama; and a more general "empathetic" involvement subtest, reflecting the subject's predisposition and readiness to feel for the television portrayed characters in situations, not necessarily in a purely negative or positive direction.

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[52] Greenberg, B.S. and Gordon, T.F., op. cit.

Certain significant differences fall into a patttern in examining the test results obtained with the Television Attitude Questionnaire (See Table I). Looking at the base-line measure (pre-evaluation), it is seen that certain significant inter-group differences prevail.

The most disturbed children (broken homes) show a significantly greater degree of negative attitudes in response to the television stimuli than do the less disturbed (learning disordered group). The most disturbed children also show a significantly greater degree of general "empathy" than do the less disturbed. These two results, taken together, can be viewed as comprising a syndrome. The most disturbed children, comprising the most vulnerable and high risk subjects, started off with a significantly higher level of emotional involvement with the television programs and attitudes reflecting their selective preoccupation with the antisocial aspects of television content.

In looking at the post-evaluation results (after exposure to all of the television programs), two significant inter-group comparisons are noted. The most disturbed children scored significantly higher on positive television attitudes than did the less disturbed children. The most disturbed children also scored significantly higher on general empathy than did the less disturbed.

One must conclude that a shift in attitudes appears to have taken place in the interim between the pre- and post-evaluations in the most disturbed children following exposure to the television stimuli. The constant factor in both the pre- and post-evaluation measurements is the finding of a generally higher level of attitudinal and empathic responsiveness to the television program materials.

It is as though the most disturbed children were predisposed and prepared "to believe in" what was being shown. It would appear that they came to this study with some awareness or readiness to see that television put "bad" ideas into their heads and taught them antisocial "tricks" (negative attitudes). Remarkably, they left the study with a significant attitudinal shift, as measured by the testing instruments. They were not, following exposure to the television stimulus materials, more responsive to the prosocial messages obtained from television, and they had an increased awareness of the ambiguities and complexities of motivational forces, as opposed to simple polarities between issues and people. In other words, the most disturbed children were initially more antisocial than the less disturbed with repect to measured television attitudes, and wound up being more prosocial than the less disturbed were.

In the light of such a change in a tested high risk group of children who would ordinarily (a priori) be considered "susceptible" to violent types of television stimuli, one wonders what could be associated with this change. Since this change is the end result of seeing both violent and prosocial television programs, one could say that the systematic inclusion of some prosocial programs led to a different "TV diet" that had felicitous effects.

It is also plausible following some suggested material in the report of Greenberg and Gordon[53] that the most disturbed group, composed primarily of disadvantiaged children separated from frequently chaotic backgrounds, were already so attuned to violence in their lives that they accepted this phenomenon as "natural" either in television drama (i.e. - negative TV attitude score) or in real life. If an individual's environment is hostile and frequently contains actual violent behavior, one possible solution is to "accomodate" one's self to it.

One has the impression that the prosocial television materials introduced some "cognitive dissonance"[54] into their lives in that their existing expectations, on experiencing actual life violence, were confronted by a different style or concept of conflict resolution (prosocial). The most disturbed children thus had the task of coping with, and trying to assimilate a new style of conflict resolution, and on an average, some change in their preconceptions was effected.

One additional significant, intra-group comparison is to be noted. The less disturbed children expressed significantly more negative attitudes on the post-evaluation measures than they did prior to their exposure to the television stimuli. This finding in the emotionally more intact group of children is of some interest, and indicative of a paradox that has been seen in research on the effects of television in children. The more intact children sometimes have their fantasies stimulated by violent television programs

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[53] Greenberg, B.S. and Gordon T.F., op. cit.

[54] Festinger, L., op. cit.

(fantasy aggression), and certain indices or level of fantasy-aggression actually rise with these children, although the stimulation is not necessarily acted out. On the other hand, the cognitive supports provided by some television materials enable the more disorganized and more disturbed child to structure his thoughts and feelings on a higher level of functional integration.

If the findings of this project on modeling and imitation were to be summarized in the pithiest manner, the conclusions would be to the effect that showing violent television materials to a population of susceptible "high-risk" children does not necessarily result in the children's modeling themselves on antisocial characters. Indeed, the most disturbed children were more attuned to the prosocial elements of whatever kind of television program was shown (prosocial or violent). For whatever reason, they selectively tuned in the prosocial material and tuned out the violent material.

The less disturbed children were more evenly divided in their modeling of prosocial or violent elements, and in effect were sufficiently intact or integrated to manipulate both aspects into their modeling in perhaps a more discriminating and selective manner. Although feeling arousal states may be high during violent television programs, the findings also indicate that this does not lead to antisocial modeling or acting out.

PROJECT X:

BEHAVIORAL AGGRESSION AND TELEVISION VIEWING IN CHILDREN: PSYCHOLOGICAL, DEVELOPMENTAL AND CLINICAL FACTORS

This research to date has focused on several area of interrelated studies pertaining to television viewing and learning. Through a number of projects* a longitudinal evaluation of thirty emotionally impaired children aged 10 to 14 has been pursued for a period of four years. An additional year of following the development of these children in their classroom and schoolyard activities, as well as through tests and measurements which elicit their responses to television stimuli, has now provided a rare, five-year set of findings.

Special focus on the so-called susceptible child also reported parallel findings involving institutionalized children from broken homes. The first sample consisted of boys. A second sample of institutionalized children from broken homes which included an equal number of boys and girls was obtained. The investigation of this second sample of institutionalized children has provided further opportunity for that most desirable ingredient of research with children, longitudinal study.

An extensive series of studies with youthful and young adult offenders has also been reported.** These were young persons whose behavior was characterized by episodes of extreme violence, most of whom were incarcerated for such crimes as homicide, aggravated assault, or assault with intent to kill. The comparative role of television, in relation to a large number of carefully studied developmental variables, was the subject of this study.

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* Projects I, II, VII, VIII, and IX.

** Projects III, IV and V.

A pilot project, comparing developmental factors in youthful violent offenders with developmental factors in college students demonstrated an additional useful approach to the retrospective study of long-term developmental considerations with respect to acted-out violence.*

Projects VII, VIII and IX contained the findings relating to cognitive style, perception and response to violent and prosocial elements in television programs. These studies were concerned with the relationship between television viewing, observational learning and imitation. They involved the use of prosocial as well as violent television stimulus materials. The work has resulted in a wealth of materials.

An area of high priority concern that presented itself for study in the present project was the lognitudinal, in-depth studies of aggression and television viewing in children.

In follow up to previous methodologies used in the studies of known violent young adults, the present study sought to determine the long-term relationships between television viewing and real behavior of children whose individual and group behavior was available for twenty-four hour observation by teaching staff, supervisors, clinicians and research personnel.

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* Project VI.

Rationale:

As has been noted elsewhere throughout this series of studies and those of other researchers, the hypothesis that increased exposure to the viewing of televised violence may result in increased violent behavior on the part of the viewer has been tested in a variety of ways. This has included field studies, surveys, correlation studies, and experimental projects. No single method by itself has proven to be satisfactory, although a considerable amount of laboratory-experimental evidence points toward a causal relationship between the viewing of televised violence and aggressive behavior.[55,56] However, there has not been a satisfactory demonstration of anti-social, violent or aggressive behavior in real life following prolonged exposure to televised violence. In laboratory studies one can merely postulate that the conditions are representative of those met in real life.

In contrast to such findings, the findings of the previous studies in this series as well as those of other researchers[57] fail to show a causal relationship between the viewing of televised violence and actual violent behavior. Instead, the findings have revealed that while there is an increase in violent and aggressive fantasies or play, there is no increase in violent behavior either at home or in the school setting in which other

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[55] Bandura, A., Ross, D. and Ross, S., "Imitation of Film-Mediated Aggressive Models", Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, 66:3-11: 1963.

[56] Berkowitz, L., Corwin, R. and Heironimus, M., "Film Violence and Subsequent Aggressive Tendencies", Public Opinion Quarterly, 27:217-229: 1963.

[57] Feshbach, S. and Singer, R., Television and Aggression, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, 1971.

children (or adults) are struck or threatened. In terms then of motivation, the viewing of television does not appear to motivate or move the viewer toward violence.

However, if a viewer is already predisposed or moved toward violence, then viewed television violence may be instrumental in shaping the form of that violent behavior by way of imitation or modeling. Television will not turn a non-bully into a bully, but it may provide for bullies a broader repertoire of methods and models.

Children for years have played at cowboys and Indians, cops and robbers, war and a variety of other games which model themselves on man's minor and epic milestones of violence. This represents a complex set of psychodynamic developmental configurations having to do with both ego and superego formation rather than the direct and simple gratification of aggressive or sadistic drives.

Predisposed to violent behavior because of a variety of developmental and psychological determinants however, and triggered by frustration, delinquent juveniles and adult offenders can and have found a variety of destructive acts to imitate in televised action-adventure drama which they may replicate as techniques in their own antisocial behavior.

A further hypothesis remained to be tested which carried over from previous work with youthful and young adult offenders. If viewing of violent television portrayals results in, or is associated with, increased aggressive behavior on the part of certain children, then children who are known to be the most violent and aggressive in a given population should show a significant or marked preference for violent programming, more intense devotion to violent programming, and a greater degree of exposure to violent television.

METHODOLOGY

Subjects:

Two groups of vulnerable children* were used in this study. One group (LEARNING-DISORDERED GROUP)** consisted of thirty-four children attending a private, non-profit day school for emotionally troubled and learning-disordered children. The referral of these youngsters to this special school (usually from a clinical or public school source) reflected professional judgement that these children needed special and long-term assistance. These children had average intellectual endowment, but the common symptom shared by all was some type of learning disability imbedded in a complex of related emotional and behavioral problems.

There were twenty-eight boys and six girls, twenty-four blacks and ten whites in the group. They ranged in age from twelve to sixteen (Av. Age = 13 years 11 months.) The majority of these children were living at home with a more or less intact family. Children in this group had participated in previous studies, and some had been subject to up to five consecutive years of intensive, in-depth evaluation and on-going clinical and special educational observations.

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* See Discussion Section for discussion of the vulnerable child.

** This group included some children from the group referred to as Group A in Projects I, II, VII, VIII and IX.

The second group (BROKEN HOME GROUP)* in this study consisted of fifty-one emotionally vulnerable children who had generally experienced significant home instability in their early developmental years. They lived at a residential treatment center for dependent and neglected children. The children in this group shared in common a background of broken and disrupted homes. Because of their background of broken homes and early family disruption, this group of children was generally more disturbed than the other group of emotionally impaired, learning-disordered children.

Most of the children attended neighborhood schools, but some attended a special school at the institution where they lived because of a variety of emotional and learning problems. I.Q.'s in this group ranged from dull-normal to bright-average; most were in the low-average range.

The children in this second group ranged in age from four to sixteen with the majority between the ages of eight and twelve (av. age = 11 years 6 months). There were thirty-three boys and eighteen girls, twenty-six whites and twenty-five blacks.

TABLE I

Number, Av. Age, Race and Sex
of Children Participating
in 1974-1975 Longitudinal Study

	Number	Av. Age	Sex		Race	
			M	F	B	W
LEARNING-DISORDERED GROUP	34	13 yrs. 11 mos.	28	6	24	10
BROKEN HOME GROUP	51	11 yrs. 6 mos.	33	18	25	26

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* Some of the children in this group had been studied with the group referred to as Group B in Projects VIII and IX.

Procedures:

Both groups of children had participated in research studies during the year prior to this study. They were then clinically scrutinized for an additional twelve month period in an in-depth study with reference to multiple developmental factors and the relative importance of television viewing as a behavior modifier in the assessment of their personality development. Daily observations by teachers, research staff, houseparents and other professionals involved with the management and care of these children were available as an extensive body of clinical information.

Added to this was the data of special psychological measurements such as the Sears Aggression Scales and the Composite Aggression Inventory,* and the findings of complete clinical evaluations by certified child psychiatrists and psychologists with extensive experience in working with institutionalized and non-institutionalized children from a wide variety of backgrounds. These evaluations included individual in-depth interviews with each child involving a wide array of professional skills and techniques developed over the years and practiced by the interviewers in their day-to-day professional work. Also used were standardized child psychological tests including such projective tests as the Rorschach, Children's

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* The Sears Aggression Scales were originally administered in previous studies of this series to the Learning-Disordered Group and were again administered to them at the end of this study for comparative purposes. The Composite Aggression Inventory was used for the Broken Home Group because it was felt to be a more refined composite of several existing aggression scales. It was then readministered at the end of this study for comparative purposes inasmuch as this group had no longitudinal commitment to the Sears Scales. See Appendix for description of both instruments.

Apperception Test, figure drawings and sentence completion, and intelligence tests such as the Stanford-Benet and the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children. Each child was individually assessed and evaluated in regular clinical staff conferences.

In addition, a specific individual history and background survey, developed and adapted following the methodology of the retrospective studies used in previous research with young adult violent offenders, was pursued with each child.* Following the accumulation of all of the above clinical data and materials, the child's developmental dynamics, behavioral aggressivity, ego functioning and television viewing experiences and preferences were individually assessed by a child psychiatrist, a child analyst, a senior clinical psychologist and a research consultant at weekly research conferences.

Additional Clinical Inquiry:

The clinical evaluation team consisted of teachers, houseparents, caseworkers and researchers under the clinical direction of the senior specialist in child psychiatry, and the agency's Clinical Director of Child Psychology. In weekly research conferences, each child was evaluated with respect to the following factors, based on information available from parents, teachers, caseworkers, research staff, direct examinations and observations of the child, review of clinical and school records:

1. Was this child more aggressive, less aggressive or unchanged compared to when he was first evaluated in the television project involving behavior and emotional response to televsion content?

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* See Appendix for the Child Developmental Data Collection Guide which was developed and the in-depth interview techniques followed.

2. What factors in the child's home life, school, peer relations, mental and emotional development, fantasy or intra-psychic experiences were associated with any changes that may have occurred? Specifically, to what extent was television content associated with aggressive (or prosocial) attitudes, behavior, fantasies and life content?

3. If the child was more aggressive, what were the child's favorite television programs and characters?

4. If the child was less aggressive, was he more passive or more prosocial?

5. If the child was known to be directly influenced by television viewing, were there particular characteristics of this child's personality constellation other than the pattern of exposure to the television programs which made him more susceptible to imitation, modeling or suggestion?

These kinds of questions, specifically put to the research team following the in-depth study of each child who participated in this project provided clinical evaluations in the context of the child's everyday life experiences and the totality of influences upon his everyday behavior.

Assessment of Aggressive or Violent Behavior:

In the instance of each child who participated in the ongoing, in-depth clinical studies, the evaluation of aggressivity was arrived at as the result of ongoing consideration of multiple factors, measurements and observations of each child participating in the project. In addition to the scales and measurements which were utilized in these studies, direct observations, clinical materials, teacher reports, casework and houseparent information were pooled and utilized in the evaluation of each child. The children were assessed with respect to their aggressive behavior as follows:

1. Was the child involved in actual fights? Frequency? Age at which first observed?

2. What was the child's response to adult intervention? Did the child welcome or resist intervention of peer or adult peacemakers?

3. How did the child fight? To defend self? To inflict maximal damage? Were implements (stones, sticks) used with serious intent? Did the child strike another and try to melt away into the crowd at the schoolyard, or did the child seek identification as the aggressor, or a reputation for toughness?

4. Did the child fight with only boys, girls, younger children, older children, adults, strangers, animals, or only persons known to the child?

5. Did the child tend to win, lose, or fight to a draw before adult or peer intervention? Had the child ever seriously injured another child (animal, pet, etc.)?

6. Was the child himself or herself the object of assaultiveness? To what extent?

7. Did the child require special parental or school discipline for pugnacious behavior? How many times?

Whenever a child was evaluated as a highly aggressive or assaultive one, this study attempted to ascertain whether there were any significant differences in family background, in comparison to those of less aggressive children, use of punishment by parents, and types of punishments, influence by older siblings, level of school performance, and other factors pertaining to physical and emotional health, and whether or not there were significant differences in television viewing.

Classification of Children:

During the initial phase of the fifth year study the children were classified into three groups with reference to (a) violent (assaultive) behavior and (b) non-assaultive, high aggressivity, and (c) low aggressivity. In these studies violence was distinguished from aggression as follows:

> Violence is that kind of behavior which physically harms or threatens another person or valued object. It has a destructive quality. In contrast to this, aggression is the active pursuit of an object, goal or person without necessarily seeking the harm of that object or person.*

Thus, children were classified into two groups with reference to aggressivity (high or low), and classified in a third or violent group if they were actually assaultive to property or persons.

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* Experience in working with large numbers of violent persons led to the conclusion that there are many advantages in regarding aggression as the opposite of passivity, reserving violence for that behavior which has a more destructive aim and quality. As aggression can be seen as the opposite of passivity, violence can be seen as the opposite of tenderness or gentleness.

The children were also classified into weak and strong ego functioning groups. These classifications were based on extended clinical evaluation and assessment of each child's ego development of mental mechanisms of adjustment and coping as follows:

1. Relationship to reality - adequate or inadequate recognition of the difference between reality and fantasy, and socially appropriate behavior.

2. Control of drives - diminished or adequate ability to tolerate frustration of needs versus impulsivity.

3. Interpersonal relationships - adequate or flattened awareness of the needs and feelings of others; appropriate relationships versus overdependence or isolation from others.

4. Defensive function - effective or defective ego defenses against anxiety; the ability or inability to function appropriately when upset or anxious.

5. Synthetic function - ability or inability to organize or direct oneself, or to avoid confusion and gross behavioral inconsistencies.

6. Perception - the clarity of understanding of relevant experiences in proper context.

7. Intelligence - may or may not be affected, but includes intact problem solving dysfunction encountered in emotional learning disorders or pseudo-retardation.

Thus, when considering possible effects of television violence on the behavior of children, six categories were utilized for comparison purposes:

1) Low Aggressivity-Weak Ego
2) Low Aggressivity-Strong Ego
3) High Aggressivity-Weak Ego
4) High Aggressivity-Strong Ego
5) Assaultive-Weak Ego
6) Assaultive-Strong Ego

Assessment of Viewing Patterns:

When such information was available, the children were additionally studied in accordance with their television viewing patterns as follows:

a) Current viewing habits
b) Previous year's viewing habits
c) Early history of childhood viewing habits.

Moreover, the types of program preferences (i.e. action-adventure, sports, comedy, cartoons, violent versus non-violent, etc.) were noted.

Finally, all data from the clinical evaluations and inquiries, various tests and measures, classifications of the children, viewing patterns and case histories were collected, examined and assessed to determine what, if any, influence television violence had on the behavior patterns of these children in relationship to the many other multiple developmental and psychological factors which affected them.

FINDINGS

Group Categories:

The composition of the six aggressivity-ego categories for the Learning-Disordered Group was analyzed for basic variables including numbers of subjects in each category, average age, sex and race.

TABLE II

1974-1975 LEARNING-DISORDERED GROUP
Numbers, Av. Age, Sex and Race
For Aggressivity-Ego Categories

			Sex		Race	
	Number	Average Age	M	F	B	W
Weak Ego-Low Aggressivity	13	12 yrs. 5 mos.	10	3	12	1
Weak Ego-High Aggressivity	5	13 yrs.	3	2	4	1
Weak Ego-Assaultive	3	12 yrs. 4 mos.	2	1	3	0
Strong Ego-Low Aggressivity	6	13 yrs. 6 mos.	6	0	6	0
Strong Ego-High Aggressivity	0	----	-	-	-	-
Strong Ego-Assaultive	0	----	-	-	-	-
TOTALS	27*	12 yrs. 9 mos.	21	6	25	2

M=male F=female B=black W=white

* The total number of children who completed the study reflects population depletion, since some children left the study before it was completed due to normal institutional turnover.

As can be noted, the weak ego-low aggressivity category accounted for approximately half of all the children in this group (13 out of 27). The low aggressivity category in both strong and weak ego classifications accounted for 19 out of 27 children (72%). Also to be noted, the weak ego classification in both high or low aggressivity and assaultive categories included 21 out of 27 children (77%).

The composition of the six aggressivity-ego classifications for the Broken Home Group was analyzed.

TABLE III

1974-1975 BROKEN HOME GROUP
Numbers, Av. Age, Sex, and Race
For Aggressivity-Ego Categories

			Sex		Race	
	Number	Average Age	M	F	B	W
Weak Ego-Low Aggressivity	20	10 yrs. 3 mos.	15	5	9	11
Weak Ego-High Aggressivity	9	13 yrs.	5	4	1	8
Weak Ego-Assaultive	6	10 yrs. 10 mos.	5	1	2	4
Strong Ego-Low Aggressivity	9	10 yrs. 10 mos.	5	4	4	5
Strong Ego-High Aggressivity	4	9 yrs. 10 mos.	2	2	2	2
Strong Ego-Assaultive	2	10 yrs. 2 mos.	1	1	1	1
TOTALS	50*	10 yrs. 7 mos.	33	17	19	31

M=male F=female B=black W=white

* The total number of children who completed the study reflects population depletion, since some children left the study before it was completed due to normal institutional turnover.

In this group, the weak ego-low aggressivity category accounted for 20 out of 50 children (40%). The weak ego classification in high or low aggressivity and assaultive categories accounted for 35 out of 50 children (70%).

Thus, the combined group aggressivity-ego classifications indicated that the weak ego classification in all three categories accounted for 56 out of 77 children (73%) in this study. The combined low aggressivity classification included 48 out of 77 children (61%); the combined high aggressivity category included 18 out of 77 children (23%); and the combined assaultive category accounted for 11 out of 77 children (14%).

TABLE IV

1974-1975 TABLE OF COMBINED GROUPS
Numbers, Av. Age, Sex, and Race
For Aggressivity-Ego Categories

			Sex		Race	
	Number	Average Age	M	F	B	W
Weak Ego-Low Aggressivity	33	11 yrs. 4 mos.	35	8	21	12
Weak Ego-High Aggressivity	14	13 yrs.	8	6	5	9
Weak Ego-Assaultive	9	11 yrs. 8 mos.	7	2	5	4
Strong Ego-Low Aggressivity	15	12 yrs. 2 mos.	11	4	10	5
Strong Ego-High Aggressivity	4	9 yrs. 10 mos.	2	2	2	2
Strong Ego-Assaultive	2	10 yrs. 2 mos.	1	1	1	1
TOTALS	77*	11 yrs. 4 mos.	54	23	44	33

M=male F=female B=black W=white

* The total number of children who completed the study reflects population depletion, since some children left the study before it was completed due to normal institutional turnover.

These aggressivity-ego classifications for each group and combined groups are presented in summery form in Tables V, VI and VII.

TABLE V

LEARNING-DISORDERED GROUP
Numbers of Children In
Aggressivity-Ego Classification

	Low Aggressivity	High Aggressivity	Assaultive	TOTALS
Weak Ego	13 (49%)	5 (16%)	3 (11%)	21 (77%)
Strong Ego	6 (23%)	0	0	6 (23%)
TOTALS	19 (72%)	5 (16%)	3 (11%)	27*

TABLE VI

BROKEN HOME GROUP
Numbers of Children In
Aggressivity-Ego Classifications

	Low Aggressivity	High Aggressivity	Assaultive	TOTALS
Weak Ego	20 (40%)	9 (18%)	6 (12%)	35 (70%)
Strong Ego	9 (18%)	4 (8%)	2 (4%)	15 (30%)
TOTALS	29 (58%)	13 (26%)	8 (16%)	50*

* The total number of children who completed the study reflects population depletion, since some children left the study before it was complete due to normal institutional turnover.

TABLE VII

COMBINED GROUPS
Total Numbers of Children In Aggressivity-Ego Classification

	Low Aggressivity	High Aggressivity	Assaultive	TOTALS
Weak Ego	33 (43%)	14 (18%)	9 (12%)	56 (73%)
Strong Ego	15 (19%)	4 (5%)	2 (3%)	21 (27%)
TOTALS	48 (61%)	18 (23%)	11 (14%)	77*

* The total number of children who completed the study reflects population depletion, since some children left the study before it was completed due to normal institutional turnover.

There were no major differences in the average ages of either group of children. The age range for the Learning-Disordered Group was from eleven to sixteen. Out of thirty-four Learning-Disordered children, the large majority were boys, reflecting general experience in which referrals of boys to special schools is more prevalent than the referral of girls. There was also a sizeable majority of blacks in this group consistent with the neighborhood of the school, referral sources, and other socio-economic indices.

Thus, the profiled child from the Learning-Disordered Group would be black, male, approximately thirteen years old, with a low level of adjustment to life reflective of weak ego functioning, but not necessarily associated with aggressive or assaultive behavior.

The ages for the Broken Home Group ranged from five to sixteen, with the majority between eight and twelve. The numbers of boys and girls was more nearly equal in this group, reflecting the structure of the Home at which they lived which has two cottages for boys and two for girls. Approximately half of the children were black and half white.

The profiled child from the Broken Home Group would be either boy or girl, black or white, about eleven or twelve years old, with a weak ego and tendency toward low rather than high levels of aggressivity.

Longitudinal Aggression Scales Comparisons:

The Sears Aggression Scales were originally administered to the Learning-Disordered Group in 1970-71 and group average scores were obtained. The Sears Scales were again administered in 1972-73 and 1974-75 for comparison purposes.

TABLE VIII

Longitudinal Comparisons of Group Average Scores on Sears Aggression Scales For LEARNING-DISORDERED GROUP

		1970-71 (N=30)	1972-73 (N=34)	1974-75 (N=21*)
Aggression Anxiety	M	6.88	6.73	7.10
	SD	2.20	2.24	4.74
Projected Aggression	M	6.40	6.19	6.50
	SD	2.85	2.73	4.53
Self-Aggression	M	2.52	2.21	2.10
	SD	1.45	1.24	3.91
Prosocial Aggression	M	5.15	4.21	5.20
	SD	1.63	1.71	5.55
Antisocial Aggression	M	4.96	8.79	5.90
	SD	1.65	1.73	5.91

M=mean SD=standard deviation

* The total number of children who completed the study reflects population depletion, since some children left the study before it was completed due due to normal institutional turnover.

A series of t tests was conducted to compare the mean (group average) scores for each category of the Sears Scales. Only the Antisocial Aggression category showed significant differences. The 1972-73 group showed a significant increase in Antisocial Aggression test measures over the 1970-71 group or the 1974-75 group.

TABLE IX

Differences in Antisocial Aggression
Measures on the Sears Aggression Scales
for LEARNING-DISORDERED GROUP

	t	df	p
1970-71 vs. 1972-73	9.11	62	$<.01$
1972-73 vs. 1974-75	2.63	53	$<.05$

The Composite Aggression Inventory was administered to the Broken Home Group in 1973-74 because this Inventory was considered to be a more refined composite of several aggression scales; also this group had no commitment to the Sears Scales as did the Learning-Disordered Group. The Inventory was readministered to the Broken Home Group in 1974-75 for comparison purposes.

TABLE X

Longitudinal Comparisons of Group Average
Scores on Composite Aggression Inventory for
BROKEN HOME GROUP

	1973-74 (N=51)	1974-75 (N=46*)
M	41.0	48.7
SD	5.78	10.11

* The total number of children who completed the study reflects population depletion, since some children left the study before it was completed due to normal institutional turnover.

A t test was conducted and the results were significant ($t = 4.9$, df = 95, $p < .01$). The 1974-75 group had significant increase in test measures of aggressivity.

Changes in Behavioral Aggressivity:

Changes in the levels of aggressivity reflected in the ongoing observed behavior of children in both groups were noted during the course of this study.

TABLE XI

Numbers and Types of Changes
In Behavioral Aggressivity in
Emotionally Vulnerable Children
During 1974-1975

	Number*
More Aggressive (toward norm of social acceptability	4
More aggressive (antisocial)	2
Less Aggressive (toward norm of social acceptability)	9
Less Aggressive (passive, withdrawn)	0
Unchanged	62

* The total number of children who completed the study reflects population depletion, since some children left the study before it was completed due to normal institutional turnover.

Four children became less passive and increased their aggressive behavior more toward their appropirate norm. Two children became more aggressive in an antisocial, destructive or assaultive fashion. Nine children decreased their antisocial or destructive aggressive behavior to act in a more acceptable prosocial manner. Sixty-two children were unchanged in their basic patterns of behavioral aggressivity.

TELEVISION VIEWING PATTERNS:

The television program preferences of each of the three aggressivity categories were classified and listed in order of preference.

TABLE XII

Rank Order of TV Program Preference Among Children with Varying Degrees of Behavioral Aggressivity

Low Aggressivity (N=49)	High Aggressivity (N=26)	Assaultive (N=10)
1. Family (59%)	1. Law & Order-Police (48%)	1. Law & Order-Police (100%)
2. Law & Order-Police (49%)	2. Comedy (28%)	2. Family (90%)
3. Science Fiction-Space (42%)	3. Family (20%)	3. Animal Cartoons (33%) Comedy (33%)
4. Super Heroes (35%)	4. Animal Cartoons (15%) Science Fiction-Space (15%) Super Heroes (15%)	

Note: Percentages add up to over 100% because some children had multiple choices.

Police - law and order programs were the most pooular of all programs listed for all categories, being rated first in two categories and second in the third. Typical choices were The Rookies, S.W.A.T., and Mod Squad.

The second most popular choice was family or comedy programs, being either first, second or third in rank in the three categories. Choices such as That's My Mama, The Waltons and Good Times were typical.

Science fiction-space and super heroes programs were also highly ranked by the low aggressivity group. These programs were ranked lower by the high aggressivity group. The programs included such choices as Star Trek, Lost in Space, Six Million Dollar Man, Batman and Superman.

This television season's animal cartoons were found to rank third and fourth by the high aggressivity and assaultive categories of children.

TABLE XIII

Rank Order of Identification with Favorite TV Characters Among Children with Varying Degrees of Behavioral Aggressivity

Low Aggressivity (N=49)	High Aggressivity (N=26)	Assaultive (N=10)
1. Law & Order-Police	1. Law & Order-Police	1. Law & Order-Police Family
2. Super Heroes	2. Super Heroes	2. Comedy
3. Comedy	3. Comedy Science Fiction	3. Science Fiction
4. Family		

The rank order of the children's identification with television characters was headed by Law, Order and Police characters in all three aggressivity categories.

Super hero characters provided the second and most frequent identity choice in the low and high aggressivity categories.

Family show characters (i.e. The Waltons) also ranked as favorite identification preferences in the assaultive group along with Law, Order and Police by an overwhelming 70% of the children in this assaultive group, which identified with comedy characters in their second order of frequency.

Identification with comedy characters was ranked third for both the low and high aggressivity groups.

Science fiction characters provided a lower order of identification for the high aggressivity and assaultive groups.

CLINICAL FINDINGS

Ego Development - Behavioral Aggressivity Dimensions

The emotionally vulnerable children in this study fell into distinct clinical groups according to the intensity and quality of their manifest behavioral aggressivity - along a continuum which extended from passivity at one end to assaultiveness (behavioral violence) at the other end. The children's behavioral functioning, including their behavioral aggressivity, was also significantly shaped or determined by another set of variables pertaining to the adequacy and effectiveness of their ego functioning. The clinical study of behavioral aggressivity required a parallel assessment of such ego functions as impulse control, judgement, apperception, and psychological defenses against anxiety or tension. The children's emotional vulnerability and general behavioral patterns were manifested in such distinct areas as inadequate interpersonal relationships, impaired ego functioning, disordered learning, distractibility and inability to cope with frustration.

The children's behavioral aggressivity was also determined by:

1. the strength, or maturity of their ego functions; and

2. the ratio between their emotionally gratifying, fulfilling experiences, and their frustrating, deprivational ones during their formative interactions with others.

The following case illustrations describe in some detail the manner in which these children developed with respect to their behavioral aggressivity and ego impairment parameters. They constitute modal characteristics or personality pictures for each of the six aggressivity-ego development categories of these children as follows:

Strong Ego - Low Behavioral Aggressivity
Strong Ego - High Behavioral Aggressivity (but not assaultive)
Strong Ego - Assaultive (violent)

Weak Ego - Low Aggressivity
Weak Ego - High Aggressivity (but not assaultive)
Weak Ego - Assaultive (violent)

Case Illustration: Bob*

Strong Ego - Low Behavioral Aggressivity Category

Bob, an eleven and a half year old white sixth grader, was the second of five children. The father, twelve years older than the mother, drank excessively. He was often unemployed, and the family was recurrently on welfare. When intoxicated the father was intermittently abusive, and there were several episodes of parental separation and reunion.

The mother was rather disorganized, with insufficient strength or resources to cope with the situation. She attempted to provide for the children, was emotionally supportive, and was the more reliable parent - particularly when the children were infants. By the time they were toddlers, however, she was busy with the next child. The mother unexpectedly walked out on the father and children after attempts at family therapy and marital counselling at a local mental health facility failed.

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* The names of these children and other identifying data have been changed to insure confidentiality.

When she left the mother did say she would consider reunion if her husband changed his way of life. The father, whose drinking did not improve, was unable to care for the children, and all five were placed in residential care. Since that time, the father moved in with another woman, and the mother found a male friend, making reconciliation between the two parents unlikely.

The children were divided in their views of the parents. They feared their father's abusive alcoholic sprees, and talked longingly of their mother. During separate visits to the children, each parent criticized the other and lauded his own efforts. The children were confused and very much caught in the middle of their mixed feelings. During their visits, both parents presented themselves to the staff as reasonably intelligent and superficially pleasant and cooperative persons. Neither, however, had the security or stability to cope with the children, particularly as the children became older and required more complex kinds of parenting than they did as infants.

As sometimes happens in similar situations, the children turned to one another in an alliance in which Bob and his one-year-older sister assumed parental roles toward their younger siblings. Their warmth and support for one another indicated that despite the family's strife, there was also adequate capacity for affectionate interaction between members of this family prior to the dissolution of the marriage.

Bob was an intelligent youngster with an I.Q. in the superior range. He always did well at school, although his performance was uneven and not up to his full potential. He was a quiet, reserved, but pleasant and attractive boy. He talked in a rather precocious, pseudo-adult manner, seeming somewhat older than he really was. He was characteristically cautious on first meeting new persons, and tended toward intellectualized types of defenses. In time, if one acted favorably toward him, his reserve diminished.

Unlike some deprived children, Bob did not reach out promiscuously for attention from any adult, but was selective. He judged each situation on its own merits and was by no means completely untrusting. When Bob first moved into placement his reserve was such that some of the child-care staff were concerned, but he began to open up cautiously to several staff persons, and has become increasingly open.

A battery of psychological testing revealed an anxious and cautious boy, in the superior range of intelligence, with good ego functioning. His projective testing revealed recurrent themes concerning separation and reunion, indicating his ongoing efforts to come to terms with his feelings of abandonment. Separation anxieties were pronounced, but his defenses were seen as adequate and appropriate.

Bob demonstrated a good ability to adjust to the residence, and he gradually became one of the more popular children, both with the staff and the other children. With his good intellectual endowment, he became more sure of himself and eventually assumed a minor leadership role with peers. At the same time, he received support from the staff, in some ways more openly and directly than did the average child in his group.

Bob not only responded well to the residential program and staff counselling, but he began to talk with increasing comfort about the marital problems of his parents, and of some of his feelings of disappointment. Mostly, however, he tried vainly to appear very adult. He expressed sadness, but also hope that the family would be reunited.

This boy revealed good ego development and judgement in many areas. He was gradually accepting the reality of his parents' separation, and its increasingly likely permanence. He was careful and deliberate in his behavior, and his actions were adaptive and appropriate. Bob had adequate control of his drives, but was increasingly able to express feelings of resentment which had been largely bottled up in the past. Overall, he remained reserved, and continued to rely heavily on intellectual defenses and rationalizations in coping with his feelings of loss.

In contrast to impulse-ridden youngsters in his cottage, Bob was at a distinct behavioral advantage in that he thought about his situation. He was also capable of tolerating rather high levels of emotional discomfort, so that his underlying anxiety, depression and frustration did not disorganize him or lead to self-defeating acting out. He had an increasing sense of who he was and of the limitations and potentials of his family ties with siblings, although he remained understandably dismayed and confused about those with his parents.

Bob became more aware of his own assets and interests and worked increasingly toward their realization. However, he tended to repress and deny his dependency needs, responding to them with a compensatory kind of pseudo-intellectualism. He also tended to suppress his feelings as childish weaknesses. At times, when he did allow himself to be more of a child, it was invariably his underlying dependency wishes which manifested themselves, along with ambivalent feelings about the seeming leadership and pseudo-parental role he usually pursued.

Television Viewing Patterns

Characteristically, Bob used television primarily as a source book for improving some of his skills, especially athletic ones. Football and baseball were his favorite sports to play and watch. On television, he followed each play closely and talked about pointers for his own game. He also allowed himself to get uncharacteristically excited and involved in the entertainment.

As an intelligent and curious boy, he also expressed his interest in television as an auxilliary source of information about the world and about science. He watched the news each evening, and enjoyed more than other children certain educational television shows which the house parents had urged the children to watch.

When asked specifically about dramatic shows, he was especially interested in shows and series that related to his own ongoing concern about his family situation. For example, he discussed an episode of That's My Momma in which several family members engaged in a strenuous but funny argument. He thought about this and concluded that there was a big difference between make-believe fights on television and real ones, and that he much preferred the ones on television. This discussion of this television episode led to a valuable additional discussion of painful memories of real fights between his own parents.

Bob also recalled a television show in which a character who was sadly thought to have left town turned out to be in the next room - to everyone's surprise and delight. This theme of reunion brought to his mind another show in which someone deserted on an island was rescued and reunited with his family. He experienced television dramas in terms of his own emotional needs, and related them to personal preoccupations and themes in his own life.

Bob's television preferences indicated that he watched and responded to television programs selectively. He tended to make use of much of what he saw in furthering his own interests. This included programs selected because they offered an opportunity for the imitative acquisition of skills. He also responded to dramatic fare which offered, in entertainment form, some passive opportunity to work through and acknowledge feelings about his own family situation by identification with portrayed characters in both contrasting and similar situations. His ego strength was revealed in the creative, educational and emotionally supportive use to which he put his television viewing experiences.

In short, as a prosocial youngster, he extracted prosocial messages from television and put them to prosocial uses.

Case Illustration: Leila

Strong Ego - High Aggressivity (but not assaultive)

Children in this category revealed adequate and age-appropriate ego functioning. In this respect they had a number of similar attributes to children in the Strong Ego - Low Aggressivity, such as Bob. However, the strong ego children with high behavioral aggressivity demonstrated characteristically high levels of overt aggressive drive, assertiveness, and argumentative behavior, short of assaultive behavior to others or violence. Leila is an example of such a child.

Leila was a twelve year old black sixth grader who was under-achieving in school. She was one of twins. Leila also had three older and one younger siblings and half-siblings. There were three fathers for the children. None of the fathers lived with regularity in the home. The mother supported herself and the children on welfare payments.

In her first six years of life, prior to entering foster care, Leila lived alternately with her mother, her maternal grandmother and an aunt. At the age of eleven months one of the twins drowned in the bathtub while the mother was bathing them. The exact circumstances were unknown and the death was judged accidental.

The mother was vague and evasive, but the home was such that the neighbors complained about the condition of the children and the Department of Public Welfare investigated the home and concluded that it was grossly inadequate. They termed the mother neglectful and abusive. There was little furniture or food. The children were dirty and undernourished. Those old enough to attend school did not do so.

All of the children were removed from the home when Leila was six. Leila was placed in foster care along with her seven year old sister. From the start their behavior was problematical. They were restless, agitated, and engaged in blatant sex play with each other and another foster child. In addition to their gross behavior problems, they were underachievers in school. Eventually the foster family found them to be defiant and unmanageable, and they were re-placed in residential care.

In her initial months in residential treatment, Leila presented a contradictory picture. Occasionally she seemed well-adjusted, even happy and pleasant. At other times she was agitated, restless, angry and verbally cruel to other children. She also presented herself as a phobic child with excessive fears of dogs, of the dark and of swimming. In her relationships with other children she experienced periods of fun and playful interaction, but these often ended in intense, stormy arguments. She also appeared to have taken the initiative in several episodes of sex play with other children.

Psychometric testing initially revealed a low borderline I.Q., but she was assessed as having higher potential. Her distractibility, multiple anxieties, cultural deprivation and emotional turmoil were seen as contributing significantly to her low test score.

Ongoing psychiatric evaluations during her three years in residential care, and in comparison with initial assessments during her previous stay in foster care, began to catalog a slow but steady improvement in her mental status. Parallel improvement was noted in her residential and school behavior. Her restlessness subsided somewhat, and her moments of peaceful interaction increased.

Despite her episodic rages and continued jealous nature toward others, she demonstrated gradual improvement in her relationships with other children. Recently she became one of several not-so-subtle social arbiters of other children, deciding which children were in and which were out of the chosen group. In this connection her earlier rages became more controlled and acquired a more purposeful, strategic and power-struggle quality to them, in which she succeeded in dominating other children.

In school she showed only some improvement. Her limited academic gains reflected her ongoing classroom interest in attracting the attention of the other children by interacting in a provocative and teasing manner with their young male teacher.

The longitudinal picture that emerged in the multiple observations over the past five years of ongoing clinical evaluation was that of a girl who made substantial gains in the face of early emotional deprivation. With improved ego functioning she was correspondingly able to cope more and more with her underlying depression, resentment and earlier rages, and to achieve some degree of control over her characteristic behavioral aggressivity.

Leila's improving ego strength played a strong role in shaping and mediating her behavioral aggressivity. Her growing ability to manipulate stiuations and assume leadership revealed a cunning competitiveness which was a strong asset in the intuitive social-politics of clique formation in the girls' cottages. Her behavioral adjustment and ability to control her impulses and drives improved markedly during her residential care. Leila learned how and when to seek gratification, and how more often than not to get away with things. Although often associated with cottage mischief, she was not the one to get caught. Her previous rages and emotional explosions were gradually replaced by aggressive, assertive schemes which frequently worked. This was in marked contrast to her grossly unacceptable behavioral aggressivity prior to her crucial gains in ego strength.

Television Viewing Patterns

When first approached to discuss her television viewing experiences and preferences, Leila assumed one of her melodramatic pouting poses and complained that the cottage staff had not let her watch the most recent episode of Kojak because it was "all about rape". With feigned indignation, she insisted that she knew all about rape and "liked it". Amused, and pretending to ignore the interviewer's response, she continued her angry diatribe, berating the staff for preventing her from watching that special show, particularly as she had been looking forward to it from the time she heard what it was to be about. Continuing her provocative teasing, and pretending great seriousness, she nevertheless continued to reveal her preoccupations with sexual aggressivity.

Her stated (and staff confirmed) preferences were for what she pointedly called "boys' TV shows, like those about racing cars, karate and police". As she discussed these show, she became both excited and dramatic - first pointing an imaginary handgun, then assuming a karate pose and whirling about to demonstrate her awesome ability to destroy hundreds of the enemy.

Satisfied that she had properly entertained and charmed the interviewer, she settled down to talk more seriously about actual television fare. She claimed that her tastes had changed somewhat this year, and that she now liked Good Times and That's My Momma. The episodes that she spontaneously chose to discuss were of interest in that they revealed her impressive capacity to find, and focus in on erotized, violent or other than prosocial materials even in the context of family-type television fare. She saw, in other words, what was on her mind.

Leila nevertheless identified with a number of regular characters in family shows. Within this context, the portions of That's My Momma which especially interested her were those in which the humorous arguments among the family participants were loud and intense. She also found the son's dating problems and experiences to be of particular interst.

Leila also preferred comedy shows over "scary shows" which had been one of her strong favorites in previous years. Her positive emotional response to comedy shows was mainly in their latent competitve and aggressive elements. For example, her favorite commedianne was Carol Burnett because she liked "the way she teases and makes fun of people.

Leila's television viewing habits were reflective of her own preoccupation with erotic, competitive and aggressive or hostile interests. She was quite attentive to favorite shows, remembered when they were on and tried not to miss them. She discussed and elaborated on them with other children. She was especially attentive to competitive social situations, one-upsmanship and put-downs in situation comedies. She took such techniques seriously and used them as workable alternatives to her earlier patterns of physical hostility and rage - in keeping with the much-improved organization of her ego functioning.

Leila's relative concern with hostile and competitive aspects of interpersonal relationships, in contrast to her limited capacity for, and real life impoverishment in, early trusting relationships, was seen in her emotionally determined choice of favorite television fare. Although she had begun to acquire a growing capacity for warmth, she tolerated television expressions of such feelings mainly if they were buffered by the format of humor. She was disturbed by more serious portrayals of human warmth, and dismissed them as mushy and sentimental. Without the defense and protection of humor, she continued to see love and warmth on television as alien portrayals, and remained suspicious of them.

Case Illustration: Danielle

Strong Ego - Assaultive (violent)

These types of children possessed and demonstrated adequate or strong ego functioning. They showed little by way of perceptive, organizational or cognitive impairments. Their ego defenses against anxiety were generally strong and effective. The children in this category also operated with excessive amounts of resentment, rage and hostility which broke through their behavioral controls, often triggered by apparently insignificant or minor stress. During quiet intervals they seemed like contained, well-behaved, but generally reserved children. Their behavioral aggressivity was explosive and violent.

The following case illustrates this category of children in our research population.

Danielle was a twelve year old black female sixth grader who had been in residential care for two years. She was the youngest of six children and was her parents' baby and pet. Her father died suddenly when she was four, and her mother died when she was seven. An aunt attempted to care for all six children, but was not able to. After a stormy year, Danielle entered foster care at the age of eight. In the two subsequent years she was placed in three different foster homes. Each placement collapsed because of unexpected problems in the foster care home involving sudden illnesses and crises affecting the foster parents.

Particularly troubled by the unreliability of Danielle's foster placements, and concerned about her increasingly agitated and assaultive behavior, the Department of Public Welfare requested residential care because of her need for a program of uninterrupted, long-term care.

When Danielle arrived she was unhappy at the prospect of still another placement, and often told everyone she was to remain only until her oldest sister was able to take care of her. Danielle's initial behavior was markedly erratic. When she sttled down, and at her best, she could be pleasant, mannerly, and even charming. Even then, however, she tended to remain distinctly aloof and somewhat detached.

She made no close friendships among the staff or the children, despite her obvious social skills and seeming external attractiveness. She remained evasive and closed with her caseworker, who recognized that Danielle was both depressed and furious over her circumstances, the loss of her family and her multiple, disappointing and unhappy foster placements.

Danielle displayed repeated unpredictable rages and dark moods, and would not talk about her anger. Periods of brief withdrawal were increasingly followed by explosive behavior in which Danielle was at her worst. She would suddenly lash out and become violently assaultive - picking fights, punching, screaming and pulling other children's hair. At such times she became, as she put it herself, "a devil". She was seen as not only impulsively cruel to other children, but grossly defiant with the staff, fighting back if she was restrained. Finally, she would stop herself, settle into a quiet withdrawn mood, and say that she did not know why she got that way. She then would return to her reserved and controlled state. At these times she denied that she was angry, remained pleasantly aloof, and tightly defended against threatening, close relationships.

On psychological testing Danielle revealed average intelligence with good academic achievement at her level of ability. She was also characteristically reserved and evasive in her psychological testing, continuing her propensity for privacy in her scant responses. In her projective materials the theme of angels versus devils alternated, as though she needed to be one or the other with little in between.

In psychiatric interviews Danielle attempted to maintain her self-possessed air of aloofness. Her psychiatric evaluations indicated that she effectively covered her anxiety, insecurity and depression with her strong ego defenses. Her outbursts of aggressivity and assaultiveness were seen as episodic, uncontrolled expressions of her dismay over her separation from family, as well as a desperate way of stirring things up. In effect, her violent outbursts were seen as the expression of rage and frustration over her recurrently frustrated hopes that she would soon move in with her sister. In continuing her denial of her actual prospects, she suppressed and postponed her disappointment until her underlying depression broke through as episodes of externalized hostility and violent assaultiveness.

Television Viewing Patterns

Danielle stated that she used to like "scary shows" when she was little, and that they gave her nightmares, but this year her tastes changed. Her recent preferred shows were The Waltons, Good Times and That's My Momma. In contrast to her actual experiences and behavior, her favorite scenes from television shows often appeared to deal with tender and forgiving reunions. For instance, in Good Times she remembered and particularly liked a scene in which J.J. was upset because he had experienced an argument with a friend. What she particularly liked was that the friend showed up unexpectedly and they made up their differences.

When talking about her very favorite things on television, Danielle said that the very nicest thing she ever saw was a children's show in which a home was found for a lost puppy. She quickly realized what this implied and changed the subject before the interviewer could pick it up. Danielle then went on to relate that she did not like "kids' shows any more," and that she now also liked educational television programs. As she mentioned some of these educational programs, she was soon talking about an especially good one which was about animals and which explained how they could not survive without food. Like most children, Danielle responded to materials, including television fare, which reflected her own preoccupations.

From her clinical history, it was clear that this girl had experienced an unbearable sequence of libidinal detachments and object loss: her father, then her mother, then her aunt and her siblings. This was followed by three separate sets of foster parents who came into and left her life.

She was unable to cope with these object losses through a process of mourning sufficient for the working through of repeated and major libidinal detachments. In clinging to her increasingly remote and childish hope of eventual reunion with her symbolic oldest sister, she repressed her rage, disappointment and attendant depression. When her resentments and hostilities were turned inward upon herself, she saw herself as a bad person who somehow deserved even further punishment. Accordingly, her detached, aloof facade broke down intermittently. It was then that her hostility was externalized in episodes of verbally cruel, and then assaultive, violent behavior. These eruptions were her respite from depression, and her subsequent withdrawal intervals were the equivalents of belated, attempted mourning alone. As she feared the consequences of another loss, she could not open up emotionally and risk such loss. This girl remained singularly focused on inner themes of loss and reunion, and she brought this set of preoccupations with her to the television set. Danielle's television expreiences and preferences were expressive and illustrative of her own inner programs. The shows which she chose to watch, and the parts of them she selectively responded to, were those dealing with her unconscious emotions. She knew about her anger, and did not watch television so much for what it could show her about anger. Rather, she tuned herself to what she unconsciously needed to find on television: stories about loss, forgiveness and reunion.

Case Illustration: Rod

Weak Ego - Low Behavioral Aggressivity

The children in this category included emotionally immature youngsters who experienced great difficulty in developing the basic skills and fundamental building blocks necessary for effective and appropriate interaction with their environment. They were often described as disorganized, erratic and loose. Their behavioral problems were reflective of their impaired regulatory mechanisms and general inadequacy rather than of an excessive quantity of hostility or aggression.

> Rod, an eight and one half year old white boy, had one older and two younger sisters. There were also three older half-siblings from his mother's previous marriage. Confirmed by past clinical records, Rod's early home life was chaotic, violent and depriving.
>
> The mother drank excessively, was prone to confusion and disorganization, and was unable to sustain constructive action. The father was also an alcoholic and tended to be abusive when drunk. The parents had a number of physical fights in front of the children. Initial complaints from neighbors were investigated, but because of promises to reform, no action was taken concerning the children's welfare.

The father finally joined Alcoholics Anonymous and made an extended effort to remain sober and get work. When the husband stopped drinking, however, the wife deserted the family, returning to her first husband whom she had previously deserted. The father felt that he was unable to care for the children, and placed them, claiming that he would want them back as soon as he established a suitable home for them.

Rod, the only son, was particularly rejected by his mother. He often went hungry and obtained food from the neighbors. The home had been described by the Department of Public Welfare as filthy and permeated by the strong smell of unchanged diapers.

When Rod came into residential care at the age of seven, he was grossly immature for his age. He literally clung to any adult he was with, seeking to climb onto their laps the moment they sat down. He wanted constant attention and was often tearful and panicky. Rod often sucked his thumb and could not seen to get enough to eat, or get it down quickly enough.

He was excessively demanding of female child-care workers, grabbing at them if they attempted to move away from him. When he sensed the irritation in several of the child-care workers whom he exhausted, he then resorted to childish and annoying attempts to please them. He was constantly underfoot or trying to climb into an empty lap. His dependency needs were seemingly insatiable, and his agitated demands for attention seemed endless.

Rod could not be tested by the psychologist as he could not sit still long enough for the tests. In his first of several psychiatric evaluations he worked his way onto the psychiatrist's lap and once there simply sucked his thumb and was silent. He eventually confided to the psychiatrist that he sucked his thumb because it made him feel safe - a rather candid awareness of what he was doing. In his follow-up sessions he continued to demonstrate a pathetic, immature passivity, alternating with agitated, hyperactive attention-seeking.

In school his behavior was barely containable and he accomplished little effective work. Rod's impaired ego functions continued to manifest themselves in the inappropriateness of his demands and his emotional immaturity. He had little ability to tolerate frustration or cope with anxiety other than by clamoring for adult rescue. His thoughts were loosely organized and his descriptions of events were often meandering and difficult to follow.

Television Viewing Experiences

As Rod discussed television shows, fact and fantasy were mixed. He described seeing shows that either did not exist or that he had only heard about. He would recall a few fragments of shows, but then would be flooded by his own fantasies and elaborations and would confuse what he had actually seen with what he thought.

Both his fantasies and the televison materials he recalled tended to deal with super-heroes who were so strong that they had nothing to fear. In describing their fights with the bad guys, his primary emotional investment was not in the violence, but in narcissistic fantasy and the wish for safety through invulnerability and superman powers.

He identified strongly with the good guy, temporarily boosting his self-esteem. His pitiful self-image was reflective of his enormous narcissistic injuries inflicted repeatedly by his rejecting mother.

Another theme that recurred in Rod's disorganized stories about super-hero shows on television was that of instant, miraculous and total cure of any physical injury. For instance, as he went into confused elaborations of what seemed to be a combination of the Six Million Dollar Man and remembered fragments of a cartoon show hero, the hero was seriously injured, but quickly restored. Rod's emotional focus was not so much on the physical injury itself - which he could not remember - but reflected his more basic anxieties over vulnerability, fragility and separation. The speedy restoration of the injured hero contrasted with his own real need for special care and slow rescue.

Rod's immature ego formation was revealed in his poor perception of televised materials, in keeping with his apperceptive impairment and disorganization in real life. His primary use of television was seen as an auxilliary source of fantasy, in which he chose to attend and respond primarily to television materials that were synchronous with his own fantasies. To the extent that his inner thoughts attached themselves to television materials, these portrayals provided him with external shapes for his inner preoccupations.

Case Illustration: Larry

Weak Ego - High Aggressivity (but not assaultive)

This category of emotionally immature and ego-impaired children was also found to have strong measures of behavioral aggressivity short of actual violent assaultiveness. Their ego impairment was seen as a distinct factor in their hyperactivity and inability to cope more completely with aggressive impulses, despite their lack of spill-over into actual assaultiveness or violence. Larry illustrates such a child.

> Larry, a five year old kindergarten student, was deserted by his father when he was born, and by his mother when he was four. He was severely neglected, underfed, dirty and poorly clothed. He had been living in a small apartment with his mother, four half-siblings and several unofficial boarders, including a runaway child. Larry's mother was described as confused and disorganized. She subsequently disappeared, and Larry never saw her following his placement.
>
> Larry was sometimes appealing, but he was frequently agitated and difficult. His ideation was disorganized, and revealed much preoccupation with violence. He often related confused, disjointed tales of fights he allegedly witnessed. They were heavily overlaid with fantasy. He responded to direct questions about these stories by insisting that they

were real events, but sometimes he said they were dreams. For example, he described three burglars who broke into his home before he was placed. He then relates dreams about the burglars who commited murder, and then were attacked by angels with swords who cut off their legs and arms.

The violent content of Larry's fantasy life was in contrast to his actual day-to-day behavior. Although his behavior was assertive, aggressive and often negativistic during his first year of care, he was not assaultive and did not get into actual fights. He was distractible and ran about a great deal. He characteristically pushed himself assertively into groups of other children, and reached out aggressively to the child care staff. He was not really attached to any group, however, and his attention was transferred from person to person, each of whom he regarded as quite interchangeable with the other.

Psychological testing revealed the same confused and poorly connected thought processes observed clinically. So many of his responses were atypical that it was difficult to interpret or score the results. Retesting at a later date was requested. Because he did better in a structured situation and was able to make a marginal adjustment in kindergarten this year, he was placed in the first grade in the hope that the residential treatment program would provide him sufficient ongoing support and supervision.

Larry's ego functioning showed spotty development. Some areas, such as those involving impulse control, for instance, were less impaired than others. He showed significant impairment in apperception. His grasp of reality was loose, his thought processes were disorganized, and his interpersonal relationships were characterized by superficiality. Reflecting his early traumatic background, his fantasy life was replete with violence.

Television Viewing Experiences

Larry related to television shows as poorly as he related to the rest of the world. In his television viewing, he was restless, distractible and rarely watched a complete show. Paralleling his own stories and fantasies, his preferences were for noisy and violent television fare.

Larry's attempts to describe television experiences were disjointed and often confused with stories he had heard other children talking about. Most of the shows he described seeing and enjoying on television either were non-existent or shows that such younger, closely supervised cottage children did not see. Larry's descriptions of television materials were thus disorganized, fabricated and mixed with his own fantasies. Thus it was difficult for Larry to sort out his own violent fantasies from viewed television materials. For example, he was preoccupied with oral fantasies of a devouring sort. He said that what he really liked on television were monsters eating people and Dracula sucking blood. He said he believed that monsters were real. He also said that monsters were sometimes caught and punished by being put to bed without supper. Although an amusing childish comment, it suggested a primitive, disorganized sense of identification in which he sometimes saw himself not entirely unlike mosters. He had some unconscious empathy for such monsters in that they were both inordinately hungry (deprived), and they both suffered similar punishments when they got caught.

Larry's profound deprivation in early life left him immature in his ego development and unable to adequately relate to others, lacking in meaningful emotional investments. His consequent combination of poor reality-testing and violent preoccupations strongly determined the subjective qualities of his television viewing experiences. He grossly misperceived television materials, and related portions of them to his own fantasies which he then matched to remembered fragments of television shows.

Case Illustration: Jack

Weak Ego - Assaultive (Violent)

This category included those children whose development of ego functions had been seriously impaired - and who were at the same time prone to repeated outbursts of behavioral violence and assaultiveness. Jack was an example of a number of such violent children. He illustrates the multiplicity of causative factors which are found in the clinical study of violent youngsters.

> This nine year old, white, obese boy, in special education because of gross academic defects, presented a long history of severe behavioral problems at school and home, increasing over the two preceding years since the death of his father.
>
> Jack was the older of two children of an obese mother who weighed over three hundred pounds. She was a woman of limited resoureces and intelligence, who was at a loss when under stress. During such periods she became hysterical, argumentative and confused. In between, she was reclusive and avoided the neighborhood to the point of sending her children out to do the shopping. She spent most of her day in the kitchen cooking enormous meals for herself and her children.
>
> She described her late husband as "an unemployed matchstick", who had uncontrolled diabetes and who spent most of his day in bed, where Jack spent much time visiting him. The younger

brother was not obese, and was not seen by the professional staff of the residential facility. He was outgoing, got along well in school, and the mother said he had no problems.

Developmental history and clinical records indicated that Jack had been an overweight, primitive and frightened boy since early childhood. He had no friends, either at school or in the neighborhood. Visiting his mother in the kitchen or his father in the bedroom were his main social experiences. The younger brother had many friends and stayed away from home as much as possible.

Weighing two hundred and twenty-five pounds by the age of eight, Jack was the butt of cruel teasing. Prior to the age of six he responded to teasing and attack from other children by crying and running to the teacher. He could not defend himself and was an unhappy and frightened boy. After the age of six as his weight became increasingly formidible, he changed from running away and crying to fighting back. As he bagan to see the advantage of his bulk for fighting and wrestling, he soon became a bully who relished the pain and damage he could inflict upon others, including the children who had previously tormented and continued to shun him.

At the age of seven, while sitting on his father's bed where both were eating their lunch, he witnessed his father choke to death on a piece of meat. In the months following his father's death, Jack became increasingly unmanageable, defiant and demanding. He bullied his mother into letting him stay up as late as he wanted to watch television. He refused to go to school, to bathe or to change his clothes. When he did go to school he constantly provoked fights with other children.

Mother made a number of unsuccessful attempts to get help from school counsellors, a family physician and mental health centers, including one brief period of psychiatric in-patient care.

Jack's assaultive behavior in school and home continued over the next year until one Saturday night when, after hours of screaming and yelling at home, the police were called and Jack was removed to an emergency in-patient facility for children. It was from this emergency placement that he was transferred to his current residential program.

From the very beginning this odd-appearing, obese boy was the center of turmoil at the residence. He started frequent fights. According to the initial house staff notes, upon the least provocation he would punch or flatten another child under him. He threw books and dishes, and toppled furniture. When asked why, he would scream that the other children had started it even though child-care workers were present at the time, and had seen him start the fight.

Initial psychological testing revealed borderline intellectual functioning, and severe academic lag. The tests also indicated that Jack was confused, anxiety-ridden and impulsive, and that his borderline psychometric results were affected by his emotional turmoil. His psychological test responses were generally sparse, and his thinking was concrete and simplistic.

In psychiatric interviews, he projected his hostility onto others, made excessive use of denial and projection, and complained that everyone else was the cause of his problems. His thought processes were immature and consistent with marked ego impairment manifested in gross apperceptive distortion, poor impulse control and judgment. His obsessive eating and uncontrolled assaultiveness were seen as behavioral alternatives to his profound feelings of underlying depression.

Jack was the subject of repeated staff conferences and planning. The structured, supervised consistency of the residential program, and the overall treatment milieu began to take hold. Jack started to talk to a few people. He became less panicky, and his fighting became less frequent. He nevertheless remained argumentative, short tempered and assaultive.

After much staff preparation and encouragement, he finally agreed to go on a crash diet. This turned out to be his first success in life. It became a group project. Other children joined in encouraging him and applauding the results. By the end of the year, Jack weighed half of what he weighed when he arrived. He no longer looked so odd. He was able to run and engage in some sports. He was less embarrassed at shower time. He was teased less, and became secure enough to tease back rather than hit back.

As impressive as these gains were, Jack remained extremely troubled, and continued to do poorly in school. Although he was a less hostile, suspicious and pugnacious boy, he was seen as requiring long-term treatment.

Television Experiences

Jack's preference for television shows reflected his preoccupation with violence, and his hope for victory through combat. His favorite programs included such shows as S.W.A.T., The Rookies and Mod Squad because, in his words, "I like all that shooting and fighting." Jack's identification was with the strongest and biggest. Jack ignored the storyline, and claimed he did not care who was the good guy and who was the bad guy. He just cared who won, and that was the one he liked. He focused on the fight scenes, and switched his allegiance to whomever was winning.

Jack stated that he liked police shows because he wanted to be a policeman when he grew up. This was not because police were good, but because policemen were big and strong, he explained.

They were also able to shoot guns and drive their cars faster than the speed limit. The earliest shows he remembered enjoying on televisoin were the F.B.I. and Adam 12, which he remembered watching with his father.

Jack's ego impairment revealed itself in his television viewing, as it did in his other activities. He brought to the television set the same apperceptive impairment which he brought to his work of the classroom. He watched mainly action, and remained uninterested in characters and motivation. He remembered the names of programs, but not the names of characters, even regular characters.

Due to his emotional immaturity and limited capacity for intellectual functioning, Jack's television focus and preferences were for simplistic, clear-cut conflicts between the strong and the weak.

The clinical interviewers indicated that Jack used television to deny his own feelings of weakness and low self-esteem, and his narcissistic injury.

It was clear that Jack was a severely disturbed boy whose violence did not stem from television viewing, but from a multiplicity of causal factors which emerged with such clarity from the clinical data.

CLINICAL DYNAMICS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

It has been hypothesized that the viewing of violent television materials results in increased behavioral violence in certain viewers. If so, are some viewers more vulnerable than others? Are all children more vulnerable, since children are generally more impressionable than adults? Are some children more vulnerable, emotionally labile and susceptible than others? If so, the study of the known most vulnerable children should be most pertinent. Accordingly, the children in this study were selected because they presented clinical patterns which identified them as emotionally vulnerable children.

Because of combinations of constitutional and developmental factors, and untoward rearing experiences, the coping mechanisms or ego functions of the children in this study were known to be impaired. Their ego impairments were manifested in such behavioral and functional disturbances as their:

1. Poor sense of socially appropriate behavior, limited ability to recognize differences between reality and fantasy, and discomforting feelings of being unattached and not part of the reality of others.

2. Inability to control impulses and tolerate frustration, and the need to act upon impulses.

3. Impaired and superficial relationships in which feelings and needs of others are ignored, with varying degrees of emotional isolation or superficial attachments to others.

4. Intellectual disturbances manifested by learning disorders, pseudoretardation, or idiosyncratic and illogical thinking.

5. Impaired defensive functions associated with thin-skinned, explosive and inappropriate behavioral responses to stress, or such observable manifestations of anxiety as restlessness, nail-biting, disturbed sleep habits and depression.

6. Scattered, disorganized, undirected and inconsistent behavior that lacks the organizational and synthesizing qualities essential for thinking ahead and planning.

7. Inability to perceive proper contexts, or associate previous relevent experiences with ongoing related events, feelings and memories.

Aggression and Violence

Research into the nature of violent behavior must take into account innate aggressive drives and impulses which are mediated by the ego mechanisms of adjustment, coping and regulation. It was necessary to establish a working definition for aggression and for violence. Both of these terms have been used interchangeably by some writers, and defined differently by others, providing for areas of confusion in the literature. In part this reflects the fact that different researchers hold to somewhat different basic premises with respect to the nature of aggression, and its relationship to violence.

In this research, the following definitions are utilized: a) Aggression refers to assertive or forceful behavior variously regarded as an instinctual or reactive response to drive frustration. b) Violence, on the other hand, implies a destructive or thwarting aim which seeks to impair its object.

Ho[58] distinguishes between aggression and violence as follows:

> "Aggression is that behavior largely inborn but modulated through learning, which is intrusive, assertive and concerned with dominance and advancement. It is used in contradistinction to passivity and docility, and is certainly not 'bad'.
>
> Violence, on the other hand, is needlessly destructive. By definition, violence is 'bad' whether or not it is intentional, rational or criminal. It is that which is needlessly destructive of life, and brings physical pain, emotional anguish or social disruption."

All children harbor some degree of violent thought and feeling as no infancy is totally devoid of frustration and pain. The ultimate and characteristic aggressivity of the children in this study derived in large measure from the ratio between their gratifying experiences and their painful or frustrating ones during their crucial formative years. As it was also this same ratio that was seen as a major determinant of their ego development, it is understandable that we again encountered an integral relationship between ego development and behavioral aggressivity - with a greater tendency for violent behavior among those children with impaired ego functions. Thus, 50% (30% of the total number) of the ego-impaired children were highly aggressive or assaultive compared to 28% (8% of the total number) of children with strong ego functions. (See Table VIII, p. 309.)

Ego Strength, Aggressivity and Television Viewing Habits

That the subjects in this study were indeed those emotionally vulnerable children who might be most adversely affected by exposure to televised violence was then demonstrated in the clinical classification of these children into weak and strong ego groups. The combined weak-ego functioning categories for the Learning-Disorderd Group comprised 77% of the children of that group. Similarly, impaired ego classifications for the Broken Home Group included 70% of these children. The combined weak ego incidence for both groups accounted for 73% of the total child population in the present study.

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[58] Ho, M.D. "Aggressive Behavior and Violence of Youth: Approaches and Alternatives", Federal Probation, 39, 1: 24: March, 1975.

With reference to the relationship between ego functioning and aggressive behavior, the children in this study were further divided into six clinical categories:

Weak Ego-Low Aggressivity
Weak Ego-High Aggressivity
Weak Ego-Assaultive
Strong Ego-Low Aggressivity
Strong Ego-High Aggressivity
Strong Ego-Assaultive

The correlations between their ego and behavioral aggressivity status and their television viewing experiences and preferences can be summarized as follows:

The children with age-appropriate ego skills (strong ego-functioning children) attended to the content of television shows they watched, had definite preferences, knew the time and channel of their favorite shows, and made a point of not missing them. They described the content of these shows with fair accuracy, revealing the same degree of intact perception and reality-testing that they demonstrated in other aspects of their ego functioning, including their classroom and play behavior.

The children with interrupted ego development (weak or impaired ego-functioning children) perceived television content poorly, in a fragmented and distorted fashion. This too, was in keeping with their real behavioral relationships and functioning in other aspects of their external world. They confused their own personal fantasies with those they perceived on television, even to the extent that a fragment of a scene - such as the rapid action of an auto race - was perceived as violent action even though the total context of the scene was non-violent.

Those children who formed adequate peer relationships and were more prosocial in their interests, selectively focused their attention on and remembered television materials with similar content. Although they reported watching as many high action shows with violence as did the other children, when asked for their preferences, and when asked which shows and which parts of shows interested or moved them the most, they included both action and non-violent shows, and described both non-violent and prosocial content. They gave a more total or encompassing response.

Those children whose early life development experiences were such that they had poor early rearing patterns, and were emotionally detached from others, showed a preference for television materials with high action and high violent content. These youngsters were also more aggressive in their manifest behavior. (See Table VII, p. 308.)

The correlation between aggressive behavior and violent pre-occupations and the viewing of television shows with a similar content has been repeatedly reported.[59,60,61] The question as to the imitative or instigative nature of the relationship between the two - that is, which causes which - is more

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[59] Bandura, et al., "Imitation of Film-Mediated Aggressive Models", op. cit.

[60] Berkowitz, et al., "Film Violence and Subsequent Aggressive Tendencies", op. cit.

[61] Liebert, R.M., Neale, J.M. & Davidson, E.S., The Early Window: Effects of television on children and youth. Elmsford, N.Y., Pergamon Press, 1973.

difficult to substantiate. Our study supports the hypothesis that formative life experiences, drives and ego formation in early childhood are more meaningful in the causal development of behavioral aggressivity than are the child's television viewing habits. However, aggressive children learn aggressive techniques from television.

For example, Leila, described previously as a strong ego-high aggressivity type of child (see p. 330) viewed the Carol Burnett Show as a source for learning techniques of how to tease and insult people. Her motivation to insult people did not come from the show.

A child extracts from television what he is programmed to perceive, and his responses may reflect as much his mood of the moment as it does the content and context of the television program.

For example, in one of the cottages, a child care worker felt that it would be helpful for some of the more chronically hostile and poorly related children from broken homes to watch comedies about happy families, such as The Brady Bunch. One night, while the group of boys, aged nine to twelve, were viewing an episode of this show, their restlessness and discontent were quite evident. This restlessness was rarely evident when they watched a police show. At one point, a character in The Brady Bunch accidentally bumped into a chair, knocking it over in a small, incidental piece of comedy tangential to the central thrust of the scene. However, the boys roared with laughter, and several were soon up from their seats staggering around the room. Soon they were bumping into chairs to knock them over with such force that it was necessary for the two child care workers to restrain them.

Should one conclude that television protrayed comedy stimulates violent behavior?

Such experiences of clinical personnel and teachers who are familiar with the long-term behavior of the children in these studies suggest the extent to which perceived violence does not necessarily parallel televised violent content. Our ongoing familiarity with this population of children indicates that action may be perceived as violence in the eyes of the predisposed beholder. It is the experience of real life violence and frustration which causes a distorted perception and response to television materials rather than vice versa.

In examining the television viewing preferences of these children, we observed an active selection of favored shows reflecting the attitudes and behavioral preferences of the individual children. To assume that at an earlier age the process was exactly the opposite is inconsistent with the clinical data.

The longitudinal clinical data point to the inevitable conclusion that television viewing and selection is an active process, not a passive one. Each child brings a broad array of attitudes, needs, experiences, interests and feelings to the television screen. The child selects programs, and to a large extent what he chooses to perceive within a given program, and interprets materials according to his own ongoing experiences and mental functioning.

The individual child viewer in any group of children watching the same program can be seen as having both a common shared external experience, and a unique, inner psychological experience, common only to himself. The extent of the personalized interpretations and apperceptive distortions vary with the child's background experience and degree of ego maturity.

Changes in Aggressivity

Test Measures of Aggressivity:

Tests measures of aggression, clinical evaluation and demonstrated behavioral aggressivity were used to assess the children who participated in this project. As previously described, both the Sears Aggression Scales and the Composite Aggression Inventory were used as test measures of aggressive tendencies. The Sears Scales used for the Learning-Disordered Group indicated a significant increase in the Antisocial Aggression indices in the 1972-73 group scores over 1970-71 and 1974-75 group scores. (See Tables VIII and IX, pp. 309 and 310.) The group scores on the Composite Aggreesion Inventory used for the Broken Home Group also showed a significant increase in aggressive measures in the 1974-75 group over the 1973-74 group. (See Table X, p. 311.)

Inasmuch as these children were not exposed to any experimental or other viewing increase of television portrayed violence, the increase in aggression scores cannot be attributed to any known effects or variables related to their television viewing. Given the multiplicity of other known psychological and adjustment factors operating in the lives of these children, the differences in test scores can be attributed to known changes in the composition of the group and other intra-group environmental and developmental factors.

There was no increase in behavioral aggressivity in either group of children accompanying the changes in test scores. Such tests measure attitudes and behavioral preferences rather than actual behavior.

Behavioral Aggressivity:

Both increases and decreases in actual behavioral aggressivity of small numbers of children from both groups were noted during the course of this longitudinal study. Increases in behavioral aggressivity were found to be the result of psychodynamic changes and responses to known adjustment difficulties and frustrations and were not the result of their television viewing habits or changes in viewing patterns. Similarly, decreases in aggressivity were associated with improved problem solving abilities, earned approval, peer acceptance and increased emotional maturity. Characteristic behavioral changes in this group of emotionally impaired children were measured in slow increments, in contrast to their rapidly changing surface moods and day-to-day behavior.

Increases:

With respect to longitudinal behavioral patterns, four children, Damon, Jeanne, Harry and Nate,* favorably increased their aggressive behavior in that they went from passive, withdrawn behavior to more socially acceptable assertive behaviors within the lower aggressivity category. While television cannot be said to have caused these changes, it did provide some prosocial assertive modeling for these children. Again, we are referring to imitation rather than causation.

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* Research code referral designations

Also showing increased levels of aggressive behavior, but in antisocial rather than socially acceptable actions, were two children, Garrett and Tommy.* These boys went from already high levels of aggressivity to actually assaultive behavior. While television was not the causative factor in these changes, it provided these boys with models for imitation and learning. For instance, Tommy would leap on another youngster proclaiming he was Batman.

The television programs which Tommy preferred to watch contributed to his modeling and identification. He invariably identified with the aggressor in television shows, once even going so far as to imitate a portrayed Ku Klux Klan character whom he saw in what he described as one of the scariest shows he ever saw by dressing in white sheets and trying to terrorize other children. Tommy was a black child who identified with aggressors of any color or creed. His favorite programs included such fare as Get Christie Love, Owen Marshall and Streets of San Francisco. He enjoyed all violent action and conflict. The cottage and research staff saw these preferences as a reflection of Tommy's own aggressive preoccupations and assaultive behavior with other children, rather than as a cause of such behavior.

Garrett summed up his television preferences by stating that all he liked to watch was "rough stuff", extracting from television those action elements which were in harmony with his known aggressive drives. He liked to watch football because he claimed to learn how to play it better - the rougher the better. He liked science fiction programs where "guys go to the moon and get killed." And he liked violent cartoons and The Three Stooges where characters "bash each other all the time." He particularly liked to imitate the finger-snapping, fist-slapping trick of one of the Stooges following which one of the other stooges gets hit.

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* Research code referral designations

Decreases:

Decreases in behavioral levels of aggressivity were noted in nine children during the course of this study. None of the decreases were toward passive or withdrawn levels of behavior. Two children who exhibited prior antisocial and high aggressivity tendencies appeared to decrease their aggressive behavior and moved into the low aggressivity category. These children moderated their dys-social highly aggressive behavior to somewhat more socially acceptable forms of highly aggressive behavior.

Three children, Jack, Jim and Perry,* began to behave in less assaultive fashions than they had at the beginning of the year. Jack (see Case Illustration, p. 346) who was grossly overweight (weighing 225 pounds at age eight), began to act in a less assaultive fashion when a number of non-television related changes occurred in his life. As a result of controlled diet he bagan to lose weight, he no longer looked so odd, was able to engage in sports, and was much less embarrassed at shower time. He was teased much less and made his first few friends.

Although Jack's behavior changed, he still remained hostile, provocative and occasionally assaultive if provoked. Prior to his changes, he was constantly provoked. He also remained preoccupied with violent fantasies, and he preferred to watch violent television shows when he could. Jack's favorites were S.W.A.T., The Rookies and Mod Squad because of all the shooting and fighting in them. The tougher and the meaner the characters were, the better Jack liked them. He used television as a means of projecting himself into a tough-guy role in order to feel impervious and potent instead of vulnerable and impotent.

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* Research code referral designations

Jim's favorite television programs included The Six Million Dollar Man and Shazam, reflecting his preoccupation with his inner fears and fantasies. He was also preoccupied with ideas of power and strength, and liked to imagine (and often dreamed) that he was super powerful and omnipotent. Television was not seen as the cause of Jim's slight improvement in behavior, and his lower levels of assaultiveness were by no means accompanied by any changes in his viewing habits and violent program preferences.

Perry, an alternately charming and assaultive boy, also behaved less assaultively by the end of this study. Despite his seemingly sweet and gentle facade, Perry was preoccupied with violence. His overly aggressive behavior sometimes manifested itself in such inappropriate assaultive actions as gleefully hitting any child in sight. However, thanks to his developing charm and an ingratiating manner, he became a popular boy.

Perry's television preferences were for shows which included as much shooting, fighting and car chases as possible. Superhero cartoons, S.W.A.T. and The Rookies were among his favorite shows. His pleasure in watching such programs was related to his identification with the good-guys and his sharing with them the feeling of power and heroism.

Kevin* showed a marked decrease in his assaultive behavior during the year of this study. He changed from a violent, negative gang leader who often used a knife to threaten other youngsters, to a more mannerly youngster whose more controlled aggressivity was expressed in socially approved terms. Kevin became liked by the staff and more popular than feared by his peers. He experienced the esteem of leadership through approval rather than threat of force.

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* Research code referral designation

Kevin had been a ghetto child and had no need to watch additional violence on television. Instead, Kevin's favorite television programs were athletic ones, especially football and professional ice hockey. He obviously enjoyed the violent and aggressive action in such programs.

Television Viewing Differences Among Low Aggressive, High Aggressive and Assaultive Children

The television experiences, favorite programs and characters were reviewed with each child during his clinical interview. These were then compared among the three behavioral aggressivity groups. The television viewing habits of the residential children were then cross-checked with house and research staff.

While there were broad similarities in program preferences encountered in the three aggressivity categories of children, there were preferential differences among the children in each category.

CHILDREN OF LOW BEHAVIORAL AGGRESSIVITY:

Television Program Preferences, Identification and Modeling

The most frequently preferred programs chosen by the Low Aggression children were of the family and situation comedy type. (See Table XII, p.313.)

This preference was particularly marked in television programs involving black family situations, and was interpreted to reflect, at least partially, the high proportion of black children who participated in this study.

The less aggressive children were often visibly sad, and somehow seemed more pitiful to their teachers and child care workers. They appeared to make sure that adults were able to see their unhappiness, one of their passive ways of solving problems. In contrast to the action-oriented highly aggressive youngsers, the Low Aggression group of children were more oriented toward feelings, and seemed to be more affected or hurt by punishment or restriction for wrong-doing.

The more passive or less aggressive children were more receptive to cottage parents and other staff as adult substitutes in their lives. They also appeared better able to acknowledge their feelings of loss of key family persons, temporary or permanent. Indeed, their behavioral turmoil and emotional setbacks were often manifestly associated with lost relationships they had experienced either in school or in the cottage. Such losses were reflective of a certain amount of ordinary staff turnover, and transfer of children to other facilities.

The high interest in family dramas paralleled the high incidence of broken homes among these children. Many of them had been either abandoned or removed from broken homes, or had resided in a home characterized by impressive indices of parental pathology and family disorganization. For such children, their strong preferences for family dramas reflected their yearnings to re-create in idealized fantasy a family situation with which they could identify. They came back weekly to family television portrayals which provided some measure of re-experiencing an idealized version of what they had lost in their real lives.

In some instances these children identified with the television family as a stabilizing super ego introject to defend against the expression of antisocial impulses. In this sense, their defense mechanisms of identification and reaction formation also played significant parts in providing a fantasy model for their conception of the good family rather than the painful reality of loss and rejection by their real family. For example, some children identified strongly with family characters in That's My Mama. They displayed a need to share in the family's values and experiences. For some of them, separated since infancy, the regular viewing of television family dramas provided more sources of family identification than did their own unremembered origins.

The second preferred types of television shows by Low Aggressivity children were detective and police programs. (See Table XII, p. 313.) This was also seen to operate defensively in furthering reaction formation in that a number of these children were guilt-ridden. In their unconscious view, why else would they have been abandoned if they had not been bad children?

Detective and police programs appeared to some of the more deprived children as their only clear delineation of good vs. bad. They identified strongly with the good characters, and took satisfaction in their triumph over the bad ones. Their responses to such television fare were seen as reinforcing their primitive but conscious desires to adapt to social mores and standards, and as reinforcing their denial of their unconscious hostilities and ambivalence towards society.

For other Low Aggression children, the issues of police vs. gangsters were seen as providing cognitive and ideological constructs. These constructs were personally and emotionally meaningful to such children since they especially empathized with the social dilemmas that were involved. They had previously lacked sufficient guidelines and examples of reasonable and appropriate behavior in social intercourse. With respect to what they perceived and took from television, the Low Aggressivity children tended to be oriented toward focusing on such issues as good or bad and punishment or escape.

Science fiction and space programs constituted the third most popular television program preference for the Low Aggressivity group. Fantasy stimulated by outer space programs held a particular fascination for many of these relatively passive children. In addition to their interest in the manifest content of the program, the theme of venturing into the unknown, with all of its inherent anxiety over the distant and uncertain prospects of returning to familiar territory, touched upon a number of their inner anxieties. Thus, the Low Aggression group of children appeared to respond to such programs on an inner emotional level and in terms of their own emotionally-charged personal dramas of separation and hoped-for reunion with their own people or families. To some extent then, such programs provided unconscious abreactive vehicles for the belated mastery of inner anxiety over loss separation and return. In-depth interviews with such children revealed the extent to which they used television programs as materials for belatedly mastering unresolved inner tensions, in the manner of repetitious or traumatic dreams and clinical abreaction.

Since some of these children unconsciously viewed separation or banishment as an anticipated super ego punishment for untoward or shameful behavior, such themes were also associated with feelings of guilt (banishment) or forgiveness (return) in their response to space programs.

Some of these children responded with undue anxiety to the hero's take-off, seeing it as a crisis of individuation and autonomy. The breaking free of space flight was not unlike the breaking off from home (mother). Both space flight and their own separation are unconsciously viewed with guilt, anxiety and ambivalence by children with separation problems.

Among the super-hero program preferences, The Six Million Dollar Man was a frequent favorite. For the Low Aggression children, this was seen in psychoanalytically oriented interviews as a vehicle for fantasies of repair and active restitution of injuries, particularly in those children who were the most passive, anxious and least aggressive subjects in this study. Passive boys, particularly more than girls, favored this program. They were more concerned with bodily injuries, and saw The Six Million Dollar Man as a miraculous cure. The theme of the rebuilt wreck had special and understandable appeal to these Low Aggression children from broken homes. They saw in this program the theme of the vulnerable fragmented person who turned the liability of a broken body (home) into a powerful asset (heroic strength).

Television police show and detective characters were the most frequent figures with whom Low Aggression children identified. Some of the same emotional interests and preoccupations which attracted them to the themes of good and bad in police programs also determined their strong positive identification with criminals.

In addition, although these children were low in overt behavioral aggression, they were still concerned with aggressive preoccupations, fantasies and passive-resistive behavior. These related to their emotional needs to deny, and their preoccupation with warding off underlying feelings of depression associated with early object loss. Fantasies of delinquency presented themselves as potential behavioral options which they might exercise to substitute stolen materials as reparations for the human objects or families which were taken from them.

In the sense that these children felt robbed of family and of a fair chance for a happy childhood, they also harbored fantasies that police or heroic detectives might still step into their lives and set things right - or at least expose the criminal conditions which deprived and robbed them of a mother and family.

Police and detective television characters not only seemed to care in a special way about wrong-doers, but they sometimes found missing persons as well, and they also tried to steer wayward individuals in the right direction by curbing their delinquent tendencies before it was too late. These children saw detectives as solving mysteries, finding missing persons and clearing up mistaken identities. Since these children felt that their origins were mysterious, that persons were missing in their lives, and that their entire lives might yet be set straight if it turned out that they had been mixed up with some other child in a case of mistaken identity, it was not difficult to understand their strong interest in, and positive identification with police investigators and detectives.

The second most frequent character type for positive identification turned out to be super-heroes. This was seen by the clinical staff as related, in these Low Aggression children, to their hunger for strength and safety. They indulged themselves in a number of super-strength fatasies in an attempt to deal with their massive insecurities. Super-heroes like the Six Million Dollar Man or Superman were, like these children, identified as set apart from the regular population and accordingly were seen as special and alone. This was a potent, but subtle feeling, which encouraged positive identification.

Positive identification with comedy characters was also encountered in a number of these children. Comedies afforded some of the Low Aggression children the repite of humor from their underlying sadness and depression. Accordingly, a number of these children appeared to turn to and utilize television comedy in order to turn off their episodic feelings of oppressive discontent.

Television comedy was also found to provide models for socially accpetable discharge of aggressive and hostile drives through a joking behavior. Thus their identification with comedy characters and imitation of slapstick afforded some children an opportunity to discharge their own resentment and anger in indirect and humorous ways. Moreover, some children obtained gratification from identifying with television comedians who spoofed the establishment and expressed negativism and resentment in acceptable and funny ways. For some children in residential care, similar feelings about their establishment (institution) ran strong.

Some children found a psychological defense, or character armoring, in resorting to goofiness. They adopted goofy mannerisms and eccentricities as a kind of pose or useful armor to keep threatening people (almost everybody) at a distance, as though their pseudo-craziness would discourage people from getting emotionally involved or too close to them. These children from broken homes remained threatened not only by fears of additional abuse, but by the prospect of help too. Previous placements, offered as help, had too often turned out to provide the opposite for some with histories of multiple placement.

A number of these children also revealed a penchant for sad, symbolic clowns or funny failures in situation comedies such as Gilligan's Island. Such characters were unconsciously identified with in the context of comic relief. It was as though these children discovered that apparent failure (including their own) could be laughed at as well as cried over.

In addition to the preceding identification responses, a number of these children also used television as a source of information. For example, Pat,* a relatively ego-intact boy in the Broken Home sample, utilized television as an auxilliary source of enhancing his athletic skills and adding to his meager repertoire of interests. At a more elementary level, Monica* was a relatively disorganized and socially undeveloped youngster who appeared to develop some basic social skills by first learning how children played games in children's television programs which she then applied in her own play.

It is known that certain hyperactive and disorganized children do better with routine and take badly to changes. One of the relatively durable and reliable aspects of Darren's* life was the predictability and regularity of his favorite weekly television shows and characters. He had experienced multiple placements, and his favorite television shows seemed to hold with greater constancy and reliability than most of the changing adults and children in his real life.

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* Research code referral designation

CHILDREN OF HIGH BEHAVIORAL AGGRESSIVITY:

Television Program Preferences, Identification and Modeling

The two favorite program categories for the High Aggression group were police or detective shows, and comedy programs. For a number of these children it appeared that the combination of police action and comedy program preferences paralleled their own untoward aggression as less than serious or even funny.

The preferences of High Aggression children for police action programs appeared to be less influenced by preoccupation with good and bad than was the case with Low Aggression children. Instead, the program interests of the more aggressive children appeared to be more closely connected with their preoccupation with machismo and strength.**

Both black and white High Aggression children favored black family programs. The black children were loyal to black family programs, and the white children had no problem in going along with these program selections, because of their feelings of empathy with the black children with whom they shared their residential setting.

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* Research code referral designations

** This same kind of preoccupation was seen even more frequently in the Assaultive or violent children.

Another influence operating in family programs was the opportunity they provided for a number of children who had never known fathers to form at least a television concept of a father figure. Such children never knew a father, or even a stable father surrogate in their lives. They seemed to be quite interested in television programs of families which had an appealing father figure in them such as Good Times.

The preference of the High Aggression category of children for detective and police characters as their favorite heroes appeared to be related to their strong tendencies to identify with the aggressor, and with the holders of power. In effect, these children were impressed with the portrayed clout and delegated power of the police, and tended to be less aware than the Low Aggression children that violent police actions were desperate efforts toward a good end. In this respect, the High Aggression children were found to be more unquestioning and more accepting of violent solutions than were the Low Aggression children. Furthermore, they seemed to be more primarily involved in the program's action, and less in the cognitive and moral context in which the violent police action was portrayed.

The identification with forceful police and detective action also appeared to be related to the need of certain frightened bullies to frighten others, thereby assuring themselves that at least some children had more to be afraid of then they did.* Aggressive children attempted to master their own anxieties by threatening and making other children anxious.

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* Certain assaultive children attempted to gain control over their own fears by identifying with the aggressor and turning on others.

The identification of the High Aggression children with super-heroes reflected their wish to achieve competence through compensatory fantasies of omnipotence. Since a number of these children were less than adequate in age-appropriate skills, some felt that only a miracle or Superman could rescue them from their maturational lag.

ASSAULTIVE CHILDREN:

Television Program Preferences, Identification and Modeling

The preferences of many of the actually violent, or Assaultive, children for police and detective programs reflected their early life experiences, in which interpersonal differences were frequently resolved by force. These children had been frequently beaten and had often witnessed interparental abuse prior to entering residential care. It seemed to them that there were two kinds of people - these who got struck and those who struck. The identified with the aggressor - or striker.

These Assaultive children were also primitive in their polarization of good versus bad, and shared the superego rigidity found in our earlier studies of violent youthful offenders. (Projects III - V.)

The Assaultive children were less able to cope with concepts or circumstances which were ambiguous, or with events which could have more than one meaning. In listening to these children relate police action shows, it was as though everything good was loaded onto one person, and everything bad was attributed to a villain or scapegoat. This was also the harsh way in which they tended to view themselves.

For some youngsters in the Assaultive group, violence was heavily flavored with sado-masochism. Eroticized sado-masochistic punishment fantasies reflected unconscious guilt. Some of these children kept setting themselves up for reprimand and punishment which they then protested loudly, claiming that they were unfairly singled out for punishment. These children were seen as "injustice collectors". They demonstrated a pattern of making teachers and child-care workers feel as though they were deprivers instead of helpers.

The Assaultive children's preferences for family shows was related to their warm family reunion fantasies which would provide magical solutions to their dismal family circumstances. Their actual ambivalence toward families was seen in their interpretation of malevolence in the benign everyday family disagreements portrayed in television shows. For a number of these children mothers and fathers really did not argue nicely as they did on television. They were quite sure that somebody was going to get hit and television did not show it like it was.

Identification with the aggressor was a key element in the emotional response of the Assaultive children to violent action programs. The more action, the better they liked the program. None of these children were constantly assaultive. Rather, they were given to episodes of fighting. In between times some were not particularly pugnacious, nasty or even exceptionally aggressive. They were explosive children. During quiet intervals a number of these children had been described in initial agency contacts elsewhere as charming, seductive or sweet. In actuality, these Assaultive children were neither constantly aggressive nor violent for extended periods of time. It was their suddenly shifting moods and their extreme emotional volatility that characterized their violence. In between violent episodes, they quite resembled the more aggressive but not assaultive children.

Both High Aggression and Assaultive children did not come to grips with their feelings of loss as much as the Low Aggression children did. The more aggressive and Assaultive children tended to strongly suppress their feelings of loss, separation anxiety and inadequacy.

Their behavioral inconsistency reflected their chaotic backgrounds and actual early life circumstances. The case histories of the Assaultive children generally revealed actual violent experiences. The parents were often alternately abusive or neglectful and overindulgent to compensate for past violence. Their real emotional and physical deprivation and abuse so impaired their ego functioning that they were unable to control aggressivity or even sit still in school long enough to learn. Because of apperceptive and cognitive deficits, they were not ready to learn. They developed only primitive social skills with which to extract what little support and attention they could obtain from adults. They attempted to gain gratification by manipulating people, since they were convinced that nothing would come their way through love. Since their parents seemed to give only when they felt guilty for previous abuse, they tried to make staff members feel guilty. When this did not work, they imitated the other half of the parental repertoire they had witnessed - violent rage and attack.

While their parents' behavior was grossly rejecting and depriving, it was primarily unreliable or inconsistent. Thus, periods of unbridled abuse alternated with periods of overindulgence and permissiveness.

The difference between infantile emotional trauma and adult traumatic neuroses is that children tend to have almost total amnesia for the traumatic events of their infancy. They recall only distorted and confused fragments of memories and these blend with fantasies. Unlike traumatized adults, such children had no remembered, cohesive story to relate in their belated efforts ot master infantile and early childhood trauma. The television portrayals of violent arguments and fights held for them a special kind of vague familiarity.

From the wealth of clinical data that can be obtained from the detailed, longitudinal study of small numbers of children, we conclude that children tend to see what they have seen before, and in ways they have perceived objects and circumstances before. This holds for everyday life behavior as well as for the television viewing patterns of perception and response.

CONCLUSIONS

From the wealth of clinical data obtained from the in-depth ongoing study of individual children we observed that these children tended to perceive on television what they had seen before, and in ways that they had characteristically perceived objects and circumstances before. This held for their perceptions in everyday life behavior and as well for their television viewing patterns. The children in this study made different uses of their television viewing experiences, actively molding or shaping television perceptions in accordance with their own ego functions. Some of the uses to which these children put their television viewing experiences include:

1. Affect stimulation - Television was chosen as a stimulus for pleasureable feelings and tension-reduction by many children in this study. They sought excitement, suspense, the externalization of inner fears, humor, portrayals of sentiment, and the projection of their own underlying feelings of depression onto dramatically portrayed representations. Internalized, subjective feelings and affect states were re-experienced at a safer, less personal distance. For some children television was a compensatory source for the stimulation of feelings (affect hunger). For others, television programs served as a diversion from their own inner tensions.

2. Learning - Television was an obvious source of information. For children who were ready to learn, television provided additional facts and furthered their behavioral repertoire through imitation of such demonstrated skills as athletics, music, art, crafts and dancing.

3. Identification and modeling - As these children sought alternative and more satisfactory models than those they had experienced in their real lives, they experimented with role-playing, selecting and discarding models available on television. They were able to briefly pretend that they were like someone else they would rather be. Identifications and imitations were transient rather than permanent or characterological commitments to personality formation. Roles were playfully adopted and dropped like Halloween costumes, baseball suits, or dressing up in mother's shoes. Their use of models was fickle and assorted rather than uniform. They remained ambivalent toward television objects as they did toward persons in their rela lives.

4. Belated mastery - The children in this study frequently attempted to actively and belatedly master tensions and anxieties to which they had been (passively) subjected at earlier ages. Unlike most adults who experience emotional traumas, these children tended to be singularly amnesic with respect to their infantile emotional traumas. At most they recalled only distorted and confused fragments of memories which blended with fantasies. Thus, unlike persons traumatized in later life, these children had no cohesive story to remember in their attempts to belatedly master infantile trauma.

Television portrayals of violent arguments and fights held for these children a special kind of vague familiarity. Television offered a selection of tense portrayals of personal conflict and danger. Their emotional investment and attention were turned to television materials which touched upon the accumulated anxieties of their own early life traumas. For the children in this study, this mechanism was particularly prominent in their response to portrayals which stimulated feelings of separation anxiety, loss and reunion.

The clinical study of these emotionally vulnerable children who presented varying degrees of behavioral aggressivity and assaultiveness indicated that constitutional, innate and very early differences were observed in their behavioral patterns from infancy on. These included early behavioral passivity on the one hand, and aggressivity and hyperactivity on the other. Pediatric reports, nurses' ovserbations, historical data obtained from mothers and nursery school teachers indicated that these children varied in aggressivity long prior to any interest in, or meaningful exposure to, violent television portrayals.

The clinical data confirmed the observation that these emotionally vulnerable children varied with respect to their ability to bind or tolerate anxiety and frustration. What was noted initially as restlessness and irritability in infancy was later reported as hyperactivity, aggressivity and tantrum violence by a variety of observers. Their behavioral differences with respect to aggressivity were noted in such infant oral behavior as nursing, and could not be attributed to television viewing.

Superimposed upon innate, or very early observed behavioral differences with respect to aggressivity, were repeated early experiences which represented significant differences in maternal rearing, fathering, patterns of gratification and frustration, and parental control or discipline.

Variations in the quality and constancy of nurturing and parental care were teh most important determinants of these children's subsequent tendencies toward aggressivity or passivity.

Behavioral and attitudinal patterns of aggression and violence were strongly determined by the development of these children's ego functioning. The appropriate management of aggressive drives required an adequate degree of ego functioning essential for apperception of and adaptation to the constraints of social reality. Insufficient ego strength was associated with insufficient ability to (a) postpone or delay immediate gratification needs, (b) to tolerate frustration, or (c) respond with sufficient sensitivity and adaptability to the needs of others in the formation of interpersonal relationships.

The tendency for violent relationships in these children was found to be rooted in early real-life experiences of frustration, pain and deprivation rather than in exposure to television portrayed violence. The clinical data revealed that it was these children's real and formative relationships, rather than superimposed television modeling and imitation which formed the bases for the predisposition toward aggressive or violent behavior. Those prone to violence experienced real violence in actual life. The study of these children indicated that actual life experiences rather than television portrayals shaped their character, aggressivity and their ability to cope with frustration.

Those children who experienced more prosocial and gratifying relationships remained non-violent in spite of seeing the same quota of television programs dealing with violence that the assaultive or violent children watched.

Those children prone to preoccupation with aggressive or hostile themes perceived such themes even in shows which the other children saw as action-oriented but non-violent.

No instances were encountered in which a prosocial and non-violent child in this population engaged in an antisocial or violent act after viewing such acts on television. Those children who were observed or reported to imitate violent acts seen on television were those whose known patterns of high aggressivity and assaultiveness pre-dated their observation of violent television materials.

What are the implications for television? It is clear from the day-to-day observed behavior of these children that they obtained from television a variety of models for identification and imitation. Their selection and perception of these models, as well as their mechanisms of identification, were determined by their ego functioning and their own personality programming reflective of constitutional, real environmental and interpersonal relationships.

Television fare provides opportunities for modeling and imitation through portrayed behavior which may be antisocial or prosocial. Those children in this study who were predisposed to violence, imitated violent techniques and acts which tehy observed on television. Thus, we may conclude that their exposure to violent television fare was not a causal or instigative factor. However, children predisposed to violence and assaultiveness imitated assaultive techniques which they observed on television. Moreover, such children had little regard for either the emotional or physical consequences to others of their assaultiveness. Television portrayals which failed to adequately underline both the emotional and physical consequences of violent behavior were seen as reinforcing the lack of regard in such children for the feelings of others.

While it was obvious that all of the children in these studies learned much from television, and imitated a number of acts which they observed, those who were predisposed to prosocial learning imitated acts, techniques and skills which broadened their prosocial behavioral repertoire. Because these same factors of imitation, modeling and identification operated in an antisocial direction for those children predisposed to assaultiveness, the programming of child-replicable violent acts enlarged the antisocial repertoire of assaultive children.

Where does one draw the line? This is a question which requires not only further study, but the practical application to television programming guidelines for the portrayal of violent acts in television programming. For example, if real guns were available to the assaultive children in this study, there is little doubt that the clinical findings indicate that some of them would imitate their use in assaulting other children. Fists, elbows and knees are always available, and there is little that television can do about that. But what about sticks, stones and other implements? Somewhere between the hopefully unavailable gun and the available elbow, guidelines need to be drawn with respect to replicable violent portrayals involving techniques and instruments available to children predisposed to imitate such acts.

Finally, it must be concluded that while our studies find no evidence that television causes violence, there are sufficient numbers of viewers predisposed to violence to warrant ongoing concern about its replicable demonstration in television programming. While the spread or contagion factor in media portrayed violence is beyond the scope of the present study, implications with respect to modeling, imitation and identification warrant additional research.

PROJECT XI:

TESTING AND APPLICATION OF GUIDELINES

The idea for this study was orginally conceived by Alfred R. Schneider[62] whose aim was to make available any practical application of behavioral science findings and child development insights to Broadcast Standards editors in their daily deliberations and decision-making regarding program materials. As a result, we foresaw the need to begin working early on a series of consultations, conferences and workshop-seminars which would focus on proposed scripts and actual program materials at various stages of development.

The establishment of consultative services for Broadcast Standards and Practices in which pilot programs for potential series and other script and broadcast materials were reviewed, produced an extensive collection of shared program reports and recommendations. These materials and transcripts of the editors' workshop-seminars provided a voluminous data base dealing with attempts to test the applicability and practicality of behavioral science and research findings in the actual, day-to-day work of Broadcast Standards and Practices.

One of the major tasks of this project was the classification, analysis and organization of consultation reports and seminar materials for their ultimate inclusion in a textbook which would be useful to editors, scriptwriters, programmers and other interested persons. The topics covered in these materials which included recorded tapes, transcripts and notations, pertained to a variety of Broadcast Standards considerations including portrayed violence, humor, fantasy, ethnic stereotyping and inappropriate sexual materials.

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[62] Schneider, A.R., Vice President, American Broadcasting Companies, Inc. Personal Communication, 1970.

The workshop-seminars focused on actual problems raised by the Broadcast Standards editors themselves, and included discussions of the role of identification and imitation in viewer response to a variety of specific shows which carried the potential for high emotional impact. In these workshops considerable footage of taped and filmed program materials at various stages of development were viewed around specific questions which were raised by the editors.

Discussions frequently centered about problems in Broadcast Standards decision-making, working with writers, programmers and directors, children's programs, cartoons, family viewing and the depiction of crime on television. Questions were frequently raised about the emotional impact of depicted violence filmed with such technical effects as slow motion, zooming and stop-frame.

We began this project with certain principles which we had elaborated in an earlier study.[63] We began with the hypothesis that violence presented in a clear context of fantasy or humor was modified in its emotional impact upon the viewer in comparison with similar violence depicted as realistic. Stemming from our earlier work we introduced an alphabetical listing of guideline factors for refinement and testing against actual program materials brought to the workshops by the editors. In addition to fantasy and humor as elements which could modify the emotional impacts of violence, these included:

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[63] Heller, M.S. and Polsky, S., "Television Violence: Guidelines for Evaluation", Archives of General Psychiatry, 24:279-285:1971.

Authenticity - the degree to which television-depicted violence is presented in the context of apparent reality, as opposed to obvious fantasy.

Bizarreness - the degree to which television-depicted violence is presented in an implausible, strange, frightening or fantastic manner.

Bondage - referring to the eroticized captivity and helplessness of the victim.

Conditioning or inuring - referring to the cumulative effects of long-term exposure to portrayed violence, and the hardening of the viewers' emotional responses thereto.

Consequences - the degree to which the consequences of depicted crime and violence are portrayed in human terms with depth and sensitivity.

Dehumanization - referring to unfeeling portrayals of victims of violence as worthless, sub-human and expendible, hence justifying action against them.

Demonstration - referring to the detailed visualization of methods or replicable techniques of crime.

Duration - referring to needless perseveration, hovering over or prolonged portrayals of violent episodes.

Fusion - referring to the intermixing of erotic and violent materials in a fashion which contributes toward a sadistic effect on impressionable viewers.

Identification - referring to psychological mechanisms of identification, imitation and modeling.

Paranoid elaborations of conspiracies - referring to far-fetched presumptions or even delusional explanations of coincidences which are presented as seemingly rational.

Beginning with reviews of documents produced by The Code Authority of the National Association of Broadcasters and the Code Review Board, the workshop-seminar discussions attempted to provide additional detail required for the establishment of guidelines which would assist editors in the interpretation of borderline materials.

Guidelines, moreover, were seen as changing and dynamic factors which needed to be tested periodically in the light of changing times reflecting different societal standards. From time to time, the breaking of new ground presented itself as a potential challenge for one or more editors working on a particular program. The role of the editor in assessing controversial adult themes raised complex and difficult problems reflective not only of the multiple regional audiences of television, but the multiple audiences in terms of age breakdown.

Assessing the Emotional Impact of Portrayed Violence

The organization and analysis of the materials which we reviewed in this project indicated that editors were frequently concerned about the emotional impact of a given manner of depicting violence. As a result of this work we were able to identify not only storyline content variables, but a number of significant portrayal variables which reflected the manner in which the violence was specifically depicted. Some portrayal variables were seen as intensifying or augmenting the emotional impact of the portrayed violence. Others appeared to diminish the emotional impact. What the viewer experiences, in other words, depends upon the context and manner of portrayal rather than the story content alone.

The modifiers of emotional impact of depicted violence were seen as including a number of variables which either increased or diminished the emotional impact of the portrayed violence. For example, violence which was portrayed as near or close by, present or immediate, deadly earnest and real was seen as having a much stronger impact upon viewers than similar acts which were depicted as taking place at some distant point far away, long ago in the remote past or in some remote science fiction future. Moreover, violence which takes place in a context of clear humor or slapstick, or within the framework of delineated fantasy, carries no greater impact than a Charlie Chaplin pratfall or classic children's fairytale.

In addition to the refinement and application of working guidelines for editors in connection with episodes of portrayed violence, manifest or subtle distortions, bias and stereotyping were the subjects of additional workshop-seminar discussion. The adequate depiction of character was seen as requiring the avoidance of gross prejudice, subtle biases or ethnic stereotypes which would misinform an immature audience about a kind of individual or group of persons.

Considerable discussion was also raised about inappropriate sexual materials in controversial adult themes depicted on television, and subtle smirks and innuendoes short of gross obscenity encountered in adult comedy fare which might be seen by child viewers. Children's programs, and the viewing of adult fare by children involved a number of sessions during which the workshop-seminars focused on antisocial modeling, identification, imitation, temptation to copy dangerous stunts, special considerations reflective of children's identification with animals, and the ingredients of prosocial programming for children.

In addition to the workshop-seminars for Broadcast Standards and Practices personnel, this project represented an extensive, cooperative network effort which was pursued over several years in the shared analysis of scripts, pilot materials, episodes from regular series fare and selected made-for-theater motion pictures. This is ongoing work, but our experiences to date appear to justify the following observations.

Guidelines Project: Results and Conclusions

The results of the ongoing studies concerning the testing and application of guidelines would indicate that demonstrable and teachable guidelines do have applicability and utility in the day-to-day deliberations of Broadcast Standards and Practices personnel.

Guidelines need to be distinguished from lists of do's and don't's, and appear to be required by Broadcast Standards and Practices editors for the elaboration and interpretation of established broadcasting codes.

Neither codes nor guidelines are seen as static, eternal pronouncements, but as practical devices to assist editors in the management, classification and professionalization of their work in Broadcast Standards and Practices.

Dynamic guidelines appear to be more useful than published codes in testing the frontiers of public accpetance in the light of changing societal attitudes with regard to appropriate program materials.

The standardization of report forms in which editors could analyze proposed program materials including scripts, rough-cuts and finished product, could contribute to the improvement and utility of Broadcast Standards and Practices input.

Increasing focus on the prosocial potential of proposed program materials diminishes the negativistic image of editors as critics, and encourages their more equal functioning as contributors to the development of creative and responsible entertainment programming. This would appear to diminish the occasional adversary postures which tend to occur between the "censoring" and "creative" aspects of programming, leading to more effective and economic utilization of Broadcast Standards and Practices input in the development of program materials.

The development of a regularly up-dated textbook or deskbook for use by editors, writers, directors and others involved in programming was seen as an essential by-product of these studies. Such a book is now being prepared for publication.

POSTSCRIPT:

WHERE WE HAVE BEEN, DIRECTIONS TO BE PURSUED, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE BROADCASTING INDUSTRY

We began our research studies five years ago with the proposition that disturbed children are more susceptible or vulnerable to possible adverse effects of television viewing. We asked: What is the nature of this vulnerability? What are the adverse effects upon the most vulnerable children?

These studies have indicated that:

1. Imitation is one problem area. Television is highly effective in suggestion of technique but not in actual causation or aggravation of anti-social behavior. Television will not cause the bully, thief or murderer to be a bully, thief or murderer, but it can show him new techniques of bullying, stealing or killing. The practical application for broadcasting practices is avoidance of specific instruction in the details of "how to do it".

2. Fantasy was strongly stimulated in children who watched television, and play activities were increased and enhanced by such stimulation, but actual levels of physical violence, deliberately and with serious intent directed by one child against another, were not increased or enhanced by television viewing.

Our long-term studies not only support these earlier findings (I, II) but continued to do so in longitudinal studies of the most disturbed (IX,X) children available to us. In the work most recently reported,* our findings are supportive of the conclusion that characteristics of the viewer are among the most important determinants of his response to televised materials.

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* Heller, M.S. and Polsky, S.: Behavioral Aggression and Television Viewing in Children, October, 1975, American Broadcasting Company, N.Y.

Our studies have attempted to investigate the most high-risk, emotionally impaired children, including those from unstable and broken homes. Also, since known, violent offenders frequently present typical histories of childhood instability and broken homes, then it is among such child populations that one should focus future searches for untoward behavioral responses to television viewing.

Moreover, if television violence is associated with violent behavior, then the study of youthful violent offenders, convicted or charged with murder or assault with intent to kill quickly centers upon a known violent population in whom the retrospective influence of television may be evaluated. Thus, if television violence causes or influences crime in the streets, then the study of youthful persons who have committed street-crimes, and the study of children with emotional impairment or unstable or broken homes, gets to the heart of the matter most quickly.

Finally, our studies have specifically investigated the potential role of television as a stimulus of real-life violence, in contrast to violent play, fantasy or laboratory-produced aggression.

In studying research subject samples whose known characteristics have special pertinence with respect to violence or susceptibility to commit violence, our methods have included ongoing, intensive clinical evaluations, as well as specific experimental projects using television stimulus materials and a number of specifically developed psychological tests and measurements to provide specific focus in the overall clinical evaluations by psychiatrists, psychologists, teachers and research personnel. These in-depth studies included individual assessments of each participant, his background, family cohesiveness, age at disruption of home, and a detailed view of his developmental history including physical, social, emotional and educational factors.

The correlations between specific child developmental patterns, specific symptoms and emotional conflicts and differential responses to television programming indeed constitute a promising area for further study, and refinement of our knowledge of the interaction of "susceptible" or emotionally vulnerable children to portrayed violence in television programming.

Children's clinical responses to television programs did not appear in absolute terms. The cognitive equipment of susceptible children, judging from our sample, appeared to have held up better in the prosocial action-adventure drama. In such programs, violent elements were counterbalanced or qualified in their emotional impact by the program's total context, which provided an understandable explanation of the motivations and personality of the characters. The "understanding" these children had of the prosocial action-adventure drama, as reflected in their tests, questionnaires and clinical studies in response to this type of program, has obvious implications for modeling and imitation of prosocial behavior in children's programs.

Emotionally impaired-learning disordered children were compared with less disturbed children in Project VII and with more disturbed children whom we were able to find in Projects IX and X. The comparative findings are of particular interest. The more intact children often had their aggressive fantasies stimulated by violent television programs (fantasy aggression). Thus, test indices of levels of fantasy-aggression were increased in these children, but these did not tend to be acted out in their behavior. On a seemingly positive side, the cognitive supports provided by action television materials enabled the more disorganized children to attach their own inner feelings and fears of violence to externalized portrayed objects.

If our findings regarding modeling and imitation were to be summarized in the pithiest manner, the conclusions would be to the effect that showing violent television materials to a population of emotionally susceptible "high-risk" children does not necessarily result in the children's modeling themselves on antisocial characters. Indeed, the most disturbed children studied were more attuned to the prosocial elements of whatever kind of television program was shown (prosocial or violent). For whatever reason, they selectively tuned in the prosocial material and tuned out the violent material. The further elaboration of prosocial elements in children's action programs and the inclusion of such distinct materials as part of children's action-adventure drama would appear to follow as an implication for the industry in children's programming.

While entertainment is the primary product of network television, it requires no research to recognize that television informs, teaches and influences child viewers through a variety of cues which encourage both conscious and unconscious modeling and imitation. Television's potential as a teacher and influencer of human behavior and thinking is awesomely larger than its entertainment function. Television is widely recognized as a powerful teacher and purveyor of impressions.

In a society increasingly beleaguered by violence, its portrayal on television is a matter of ongoing social concern and consequence. The alternatives for television are these: to eliminate violence completely or haphazardly and make believe that it rarely if ever occurs, or to learn to handle portrayed violence responsibly so that its potential for good is augmented.

The entertainment of children requires supervision. Supervising children is neither a primary network nor governmental responsibility, but a basic parental one. Where parental supervision is inadequate, then there is a joint responsibility to be shared among parents, networks and the educational system.

The findings of our own and other television studies of violence can be supplied in tables of data which attempt to measure children's aggressive behavior as it is influenced by television programs.

Millions of dollars of laboratory or survey research alone will not supply the answer to what children learn from television or how. Nor will anecdotal accounts from individual parents, teachers or critics.

What and how children are learning from television deserves continued study of the massive data which can only be collected by systematic attention to the response of young children to television programs as part of regular classroom discussions. If children are learning bad things from television, or anything at all, the logical place to find out more about it is where their learning is evaluated, tested and assessed daily - the classroom. It is clear that television teaches something. What better prospect of utilizing, assessing and capitalizing on the impressions and misimpressions that children receive from television than in the classroom?

If half-hour programs were assigned to even first grade classes, and then discussed like any story or "show and tell", untoward reactions to programming could be quickly identified, misinformation or exploitive advertising could be debunked - and children would learn to evaluate assigned television entertainment under the leadership of the person entrusted with their learning and intellectual development, their teacher.* Such systematic data collected in various states and regions from children of different age groups, would allow teachers and educators to assess over a longitudinal period the influence and impact of television experience as it effects the thinking and actual behavior of children. The monitoring and classroom discussion of children's responses to television programs would provide mutually rewarding information for researchers, teachers and television programmers alike.

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* Certainly Bugs Bunny is worth as much discussion as Little Red Riding Hood or Hansel and Gretel, and in the estimate of some has at least as much artistic merit.

The best teachers are also good entertainers; and both professions need to come more closely together in the mutual and complementary development of the wide world of audio-visual techniques.

The completion of five years of studies has involved a major commitment and continuing interest of the American Broadcasting Company in supporting and responding to basic research pertaining to the relationships between children's television viewing and the psychological and child-developmental factors which pertain to any relationship between portrayed violence and behavioral violence.

Throughout the five years, editors' workshops, as well as regular consultations on selected scripts, pilots and other program materials have sought to apply pertinent child development and research findings to the day-to-day decisions of Broadcast Standards and Practices. This work has resulted in a large volume of additional materials which is in preparation for publication as a guideline text for editors, writers and programmers.

APPENDIX

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ACTIVITIES TEST

Three choices for each of 12 different items

Of each three choices one is most obviously aggressive (play darts)

If MOST AGGRESSIVE item is preferred most equals value of 3

If Darts were PREFERRED LEAST equals value of 0

If Darts were LEFT OUT equals value of 1

ACTIVITIES TEST

Name____Date______________________

Listed below are groups of three activities. For each group, check the one you would most prefer and the one you would least prefer in case you had to choose among them. Make a choice if you would like none of them or like all of them equally. Do no spend too much time on any one item.

	Prefer Most	Prefer Least	
1.	______	______	Play checkers
	______	______	Play darts
	______	______	Toss horseshoes
2.	______	______	Read a detective story
	______	______	Read a biography
	______	______	Read a sports story
3.	______	______	Watch a prizefight
	______	______	Watch basketball
	______	______	Watch baseball
4.	______	______	Read a book
	______	______	Watch T.V.
	______	______	Play ball
5.	______	______	Box
	______	______	Swim
	______	______	Play
6.	______	______	Watch a movie that has good comedy
	______	______	Watch a movie that has good music
	______	______	Watch a movie that has good battle scenes

	Prefer Most	Prefer Least	
7.	______	______	Be smart
	______	______	Be strong
	______	______	Be liked
8.	______	______	Exploring
	______	______	Big game hunting
	______	______	Deep sea diving
9.	______	______	Be a musician
	______	______	Be a private detective
	______	______	Be a baseball coach
10.	______	______	Be an expert rifleman
	______	______	Be an expert ping-pong player
	______	______	Be an expert photographer
11.	______	______	Be expert at basketball
	______	______	Be expert at Judo
	______	______	Be expert at guitar playing
12.	______	______	Ride a horse
	______	______	Play tennis
	______	______	Wrestle

BAILYN QUESTIONNAIRE
(modified)

Scoring:

Two measures are derived from this questionnaire.

1) One is a "problem" score, derived by adding the subject's responses to statements or questions which indicates that the subject has maladjustments in relationships with peers, family, or suffers from a poor self-image.

2) A second score is a measure of cognitive rigidity, derived by adding the subject's responses to statements which reflect his use of this psychological variable.

BAILYN QUESTIONNAIRE
(modified)

NAME: ____

PART I

1. Which of these two things would you rather do? Circle the number of the one you would rather do:

    1. Go on an outing or picnic for the afternoon with your friends.
    2. See a movie with your friends.

2. Suppose that, just by wishing, you could be any age at all. Put a circle around the number in front of the age you would most like to be:

    1. Under 5
    2. 5 to 9
    3. Over 9 but under 13
    4. 13 to 19
    5. 20 or over

3. In this question put a "1" in front of your first choice, a "2" in front of your second choice, and a "3" in front of your third choice.

    If you were going to the circus would you want to go--
    A - with your father?
    B - with your best friend?
    C - with your brothers or sisters?
    D - with a group of friends?
    E - with your mother?
    F - by yourself?

4. Which of these two things would you usually rather do? Circle the number of the one you would rather do:

    1. Be asked to join a club.
    2. Start a new club.

5. Circle the number of the answer that fits you best:

    1. I am too tall.
    2. I am too short.
    3. I am just about right.

6. Which of these two things would you usually rather do? Circle the number of the one you would rather do:

    1. Read a book.
    2. Read a comic book.

BAILYN QUESTIONNAIRE

7. What would you most like to be when you grow up? Put down the three types of work you would most like to do:

    1.______________________________________

    2.______________________________________

    3.______________________________________

8. Circle the number of the answer that fits you best:

    1. I am too fat.
    2. I am too thin.
    3. I am just about right.

9. How many friends do you have? Put a circle around the number of the answer that fits you best:

    1. I don't have very many friends and like it that way.
    2. I don't have very many friends and wish I had more.
    3. I have a few good friends and don't want any more or less.
    4. I have a few good friends and would like to have more.
    5. I have many friends and enjoy it.
    6. I have many friends but would rather have just a few good ones.
    7. I have many friends and would like to have even more.

10. Suppose you got a bad mark on your report card. How would you feel? Circle the number in front of the answer that fits you best.

    1. I would feel it was my fault because I didn't work hard enough.
    2. I would feel that mostly it was not my fault.

11. How often do you go to the homes of other kids in your class? Put a circle around the number of the answer that fits you best:

    1. Very often (almost every day).
    2. Sometimes (once a week or so).
    3. Hardly ever.

12. A boy sits down at the table to eat his soup. His mother says, "It's too bad that the soup is cold." What do you think the boy answers? Circle the number of the answer you think the boy gives to his mother. The boy says:

    1. "Can't you heat it some?"
    2. "That's all right."
    3. "I should have started eating sooner."

BAILYN QUESTIONNAIRE

13. Do you ever get hit at home nowadays?

    1. Yest, quite often.
    2. Sometimes.
    3. No, hardly ever.

    How old were you the last time you were hit at home?

    1. 4 years or less.
    2. 5
    3. 6
    4. 7
    5. 8
    6. 9
    7. 10
    8. 11 years or over

14. Suppose you and your friend were talking to each other and then you find out that your friend is unhappy about something that was said. Would you feel this was your fault? Cicrle the number in front of the answer that fits you best:

    1. I would feel it was definitely my fault.
    2. I would feel it might be my fault.
    3. I would feel it probably was not my fault.
    4. I would feel it was definitely not my fault.

15. How much difference does it make to your parents what marks you get in school? Circle the number in front of the answer that you think is right:

    1. It is very important to them for me to get good marks.
    2. They are pretty much satisfied with any marks I get.

16. How often do other kids in your class come to your house? Put a circle around the number of the answer that fits you best:

    1. Very often (almost every day).
    2. Sometimes (once a week or so).
    3. Hardly ever.

17. Do your parents every keep you from doing the things you want to do? Put a circle around the number of the answer that fits you best:

    1. Yes , quite often.
    2. Sometimes they do.
    3. They hardly ever do.

18. Which of these two things would you usually rather do? Circle the number of the one you would rather do:

    1. Go to someone else's party.
    2. Give a party.

19. Circle the number in front of the person who punishes you when you do something wrong:

    1. Usually my mother.
    2. Usually my father.

    Does anyone else punish you? If yes , write here who it is:

    1.____________________

    2.____________________

    3.____________________

20. A boy is playing marbles with his friend. The friend says, "I'm sorry I pushed your marble by mistake." What do you think the boy answers? Circle the number of the answer you think the boy gives his friend.

    The boy says:

    1. "I should have moved it out of your way."
    2. "Let's keep playing."
    3. "Can't you be more careful."

21. Do you think your parents try to find out how you feel about something if you and they disagree? Circle the number in front of the answer you think is right:

    1. Yes, almost always.
    2. Sometimes they do.
    3. Usually they don't.

22. Which of these two things would you usually rather do? Circle the number of the one you would rather do:

    1. Play a game indoors.
    2. Watch television.

23. Suppose you could just have 3 of the wishes below, which would you want to come true? Read them all, then put a "1" in front of your biggest wish, a "2" in front of your second biggest wish, and a "3" in front of your third wish.

    I would like:

    A. To have more friends.
    B. To be stronger than I am now.
    C. To see the world.
    D. To get along better with my father and mother.
    E. To be thinner than I am now.
    F. To go to a ball game.
    G. To be better looking than I am now.
    H. To have my father and mother be more like other people's parents.

I. To be taller or shorter than I am now.
J. To play a musical instrument.
K. To get along better with other kids.
L. To have a private plane.
M. To have my father and mother pay as much attention to me as they do to my brothers and sisters.
N. To be smarter than I am now.

24. Which of these two things would you usually rather do? Circle the number of the one you would rather do:

1. Decide yourself which games to play.
2. Let others decide which games to play.

25. Suppose you are talking to a friend and something the friend says makes you unhappy. Would you feel that this was your friend's fault? Circle the number in front of the answer that fits you:

1. I would feel it was definitely my friend's fault.
2. I would feel it might be my friend's fault.
3. I would feel it probably was not my friend's fault.
4. I would feel it definitely was not my friend's fault.

26. Suppose that just by making a wish you could change youself into any of the people below. Read them all, then put a "1" in front of the person you would most want to be changed into, a "2" in front of your second choice, and a "3" in front of your third choice.

I would like to be changed into a:

A. King
B. Cowboy
C. Movie Star
D. President
E. Prince
F. Detective
G. Reporter
H. Inventor
I. Superman
J. Space Cadet
K. Queen
L. Animal Breeder
M. Explorer
N. Princess
O. FBI agent
P. Knight
Q. Person from Mars

BAILYN QUESTIONNAIRE

PART II

1. Do you think it is important to know if a person is good or bad before having anything to do with them?

    1. I think it is very important.
    2. I don't think it is very important.

2. Why do some people become bums?

    1. Because they are natually lazy.
    2. For some other reason.

3. Do you think this country is in danger?

    1. I think it is in great danger.
    2. I think it is in little danger.
    3. I don't think it is in great danger.
    4. I don't think it is in any danger.

4. It is possible to tell by a person's face whether he is honest or dishonest.

    1. I think this is true.
    2. I think this is false.

5. How often does something stop a person from doing the things he wants to do?

    1. Almost always.
    2. Quite often.
    3. Not usually.
    4. Hardly ever.

6. Circle the number of the person you think gets along better in this world:

    1. A weak but nice person.
    2. A strong but not quite so nice a person.

7. Why do people who commit crimes do so?

    1. Because they are naturally bad.
    2. For some other reason.

8. Do you think there is danger that people on this earth will be harmed by beings from another planet?

    1. Yes, quite likely there is.
    2. It is always a possibility.
    3. Most likely not.
    4. No, definitely not.

BAILYN QUESTIONNAIRE

9. Lazy people are all alike and quite different from people who work hard.

    1. I think this is true.
    2. I think this is false.

10. Can most people be trusted?

    1. Almost all people can.
    2. Quite a lot of people can.
    3. Only some people can.
    4. Hardly any people can.

11. Do criminals ever become good?

    1. Sometimes they do.
    2. No, they usually don't.

12. Some people always get pushed around. Why is this?

    1. Because they are naturally weak.
    2. For some other reason.

13. Do people live here who are really enemies of this country?

    1. Yes, many do.
    2. Yes, some do.
    3. No, not many do.
    4. No, hardly any do.

14. People are either all good or all bad.

    1. I think this is true.
    2. I think this is false.

15. Is it hard for a person to be what he wants to be in life?

    1. It is very hard.
    2. It is quite hard.
    3. It isn't very hard.
    4. It isn't hard at all.

16. Are good people usually strong?

    1. Yes, usually.
    2. Not necessarily.

17. Why do some people tell lies?

    1. Because they are naturally dishonest.
    2. For some other reason.

18. Do you think something may destroy the world some day?

    1. Yes, I definitely think so.
    2. I think it might happen.
    3. Most likely not.
    4. No, I definitely don't think so.

19. There are only two types of people in the world, the weak and the strong.

    1. I think this is true.
    2. I think this is false.

20. Can a person usually find help if he needs it?

    1. He almost always can.
    2. Quite often he can.
    3. He seldom can.
    4. He hardly every can.

BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE

Scoring:

Actual aggressive behavior was rated by counting or recording the number of aggressive incidents occurring with peers or adults. Raters were instructed to include in the "mild" category behavior such as "horseplay" or "kidding around", or that which did not have serious intent to harm, to defy, or to provoke serious aggressive responses in others, or property damage, etc., which occurred as a result of "accidental" or "playful" behavior.

Raters were instructed to include in the "strong" category any behavior, attitudes, or property damage that could be considered to have serious intent to harm, defy or provoke (in other words, assaultive, destructive, defiant behaviors).

Behavior rated as "mild" was scored as 1, and behavior rated as "strong" was scored as 2. Two scores were obtained, one for peers and one for authority.

Content Analysis:

A content analysis of the Behavior Rating Scale was done to provide a closer examination of the types of behaviors actually used by these children. Three types of behavioral aggression was noted: physical, verbal and attitudinal.

Five items (10, 18, 19, 20 and 23) were included under attitudinal aggressivity. Five items (1, 2, 8, 24 and 26) were included under physical aggressivity. This category was further subdivided into punching (Item 1), shoving (Item 2), and "other" (Items 8, 24, 26).

Ten items (3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 25) were included in the verbal aggressivity category. In order to avoid undue weighting of this category, the numbers of incidents recorded were halved to equalize their impact on the total.*

The "score" for the content analysis of each Behavior Rating Scale consisted of actual numbers of aggressive incidents of each category recorded under each "mild" or "strong" heading for peers or for authority.

---

* Items 9, 11, 12, 17, 21 and 22 were eliminated as not being particuparly relevant to behavioral aggressivity.

BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE

Name: ______________________ Date: ______________________

Birthdate: ______________________ Rater: ______________________

	Toward Peer		Toward Authority	
	Mild	Strong	Mild	Strong
1. Was in a fistfight, hit or kicked somebody.				
2. Pushed or shoved someone.				
3. Angry interchange or verbal blowup with someone.				
4. Cursed someone, used profanity.				
5. Made negative, critical or insulting remarks toward someone.				
6. Expression of anger or criticism toward someone not present.				
7. Was grumbling or generally complaining.				
8. Was rough, careless or destroyed some property.				
9. Had a particularly frustrating or unhappy experience.				
10. Upset when criticized or corrected.				
11. Avoiding people today.				
12. Seemed unhappy.				
13. Very bossy.				
14. Bragged or boasted a lot.				
15. Blaming others for problems.				
16. Picking on or teasing others.				
17. Was picked on today.				
18. Broke a major rule.				
19. Seemed to be trying to start trouble.				
20. Angry or sullen facial expression.				

BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE

	Toward Peer		Toward Authority	
	Mild	Strong	Mild	Strong
21. Seemed to be jealous.				
22. Was especially helpful.				
23. Refused to perform voluntary or assigned tasks.				
24. Threw object at someone or hurt someone through a "prank."				
25. Was overly critical of himself.				
26. Pounded his fist or otherwise hurt himself.				

BUSS-DURKEE AGGRESSION INVENTORY

Scoring:

The subject had to express his agreement (True) or disagreement (False) to statements grouped under the following headings:

1) Assault
2) Indirect Aggression
3) Irritability
4) Negativism
5) Resentment
6) Suspicion
7) Verbal Aggression
8) Guilt

Thus, eight scores were obtained, each score representing the sum of the subject's acceptance ("True" response) of the particular category.

BUSS-DURKEE AGGRESSION INVENTORY

Name: ______________________________ Date: ____________________

TRUE	FALSE	
___	___	1. I hardly ever strike back, even if someone hits me first.
___	___	2. I sometimes spread tales about boys or girls I do not like.
___	___	3. Unless somebody asks me in a nice way, I won't do what they want.
___	___	4. I lose my temper easily, but get over it quickly.
___	___	5. I don't seem to get what's coming to me.
___	___	6. I know that people talk about me behind my back.
___	___	7. When I do not like my friends' behavior, I let them know it.
___	___	8. The few times I have cheated, I have felt very unhappy afterwards.
___	___	9. Once in a while, I cannot control my wanting to hurt others.
___	___	10. I never get mad enough to throw things.
___	___	11. Sometimes people bother me just by being around.
___	___	12. When someone makes a rule I don't like, I have a wish to break it.
___	___	13. Other kids always seem to get the breaks.
___	___	14. I keep my guard up with people who are more friendly than I expected.
___	___	15. I often disagree with people.
___	___	16. I sometimes have bad thoughts which make me feel ashamed.
___	___	17. I cannot think of any reason for ever hitting anyone.
___	___	18. When I am angry I sometimes sulk.
___	___	19. When someone is bossy, I do the oppsite of what he asks.
___	___	20. I am annoyed a great deal more than people are aware of.
___	___	21. I don't know any people that I downright hate.
___	___	22. There are a number of people who seem to dislike me very much.

TRUE	FALSE	BUSS-DURKEE AGGRESSION INVENTORY
		23. I insist that people respect my rights.
		24. People who goof off on the job must feel bad.
		25. If somebody hits me first, I let him have it.
		26. Whem I am mad, I sometimes slam doors.
		27. I am always patient with others.
		28. Sometimes when I'm mad at someone, I will give him the "silent treatment."
		29. When I look back at some of the things that have happened to me, I can't help feeling a little mad.
		30. I sometimes have the feeling that others are laughing at me.
		31. I can't help getting into arguments when people disagree with me.
		32. It makes me sad that I did not do more for my parents.
		33. Anyone who insults me or my family is asking for a fight.
		34. I never play practical jokes.
		35. It makes my blood boil to have somebody make fun of me.
		36. When people are bossy I take my time just to show them.
		37. Almost every week I see someone I dislike.
		38. There are a number of kids who are jealous of me.
		39. Even when I get mad I don't use bad language.
		40. I worry about being forgiven for my sins.
		41. People who always pester you are asking for a punch in the nose.
		42. I sometimes sulk when I do not get my own way.
		43. If somebody bugs me, I may tell him what I think of him.
		44. I often feel like I am ready to explode.
		45. Although I don't show it, I get jealous, sometimes, of other kids.
		46. I think one should never trust strangers.
		47. When people yell at me, I yell back.

TRUE FALSE

BUSS-DURKEE AGGRESSION INVENTORY

____ ____ 48. I do many things that make me feel sad afterwards.

____ ____ 49. When I really lose my temper, I can slap someone.

____ ____ 50. Since I was a little boy, I've never had a temper tantrum.

____ ____ 51. When I get mad I say nasty things.

____ ____ 52. I sometimes feel pretty touchy about things.

____ ____ 53. If I let people see the way I feel, they would think that I'm a hard person to get along with.

____ ____ 54. I wonder what reasons people have for doing something nice for me.

____ ____ 55. I could not put someone in his place, even if he needed it.

____ ____ 56. Failing something makes me feel low.

____ ____ 57. I get into fights about as often as the next boy.

____ ____ 58. I can rememberbeing so angry that I picked up the nearest thing and broke it.

____ ____ 59. I often make threats I don't really mean to carry out.

____ ____ 60. I can't help being a little rude to people I don't like.

____ ____ 61. At times, I feel I am getting a raw deal.

____ ____ 62. I used to think that most people told the truth, but now I know differently.

____ ____ 63. I mostly cover up my low opinion of others.

____ ____ 64. When I do wrong, I do not feel so good later.

____ ____ 65. If I have to hit someone to defend my rights, I will.

____ ____ 66. If someone doesn't treat me right, I do not let it get to me.

____ ____ 67. I have no enemies who really wish to hurt me.

____ ____ 68. In an argument, I raise my voice.

____ ____ 70. I know people who pushed me so far that we came to blows.

____ ____ 71. I do not let a lot of unimportant things bug me.

____ ____ 72. I seldom feel that people are trying to bug me or insult me.

TRUE FALSE BUSS-DURKEE AGGRESSION INVENTORY

____ ____ 73. Lately, I have been kind of grouchy.

____ ____ 74. I would rather give up a point than get into an argument about it.

____ ____ 75. I sometimes show I am angry by banging on the table.

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Child's Name ______________________________ Age __________

Birthdate ______________ Grade ______________ Sex __________

Reason for referral ______________________________________

____

I. Family Background

Birthdate Education Occupation

Father ____

Mother ____

Stepfather ____

Stepmother ____

Foster Father ____

Foster Mother ____

Date of Marriage ____

Dates of Separation and/or Divorce _______________________

Religious Affiliations ___________________________________

Ethnic Background ____

Family Income - Weekly L/L U/L L/M U/M
(Estimated)

How Family Supported	(1st 6 mo.)	F	M	Fam Mem	Welf	Other
	(6-36 mo.)	F	M	Fam Mem	Welf	Other
	(3-5 yrs.)	F	M	Fam Mem	Welf	Other
	(6-11 yrs.)	F	M	Fam Mem	Welf	Other
	(12 yrs. on)	F	M	Fam Mem	Welf	Other

Ordinate Position of Child ____ of ____ children

Schematic Family Tree:

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Siblings	Full/Half	Birthdate	Education	Occupation

Additional Foster Placements:

Summary of Circumstances of Separation(s) and Placement(s):

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Parental History of Hospitalization or Incarceration (inpatient/prison)

Who (Mother or Father): ____________________

When: ____________________

Reason, Outcome, Details: ____________________

____

Psychiatric Outpatient History of Parents

Mother: Symptoms ____________________

Outpatient Therapy: Duration, Outcome, Details

____

____

Father: Symptoms ____________________

Outpatient Therapy: Duration, Outcome, Details

____

____

Were Parents Reared in Institutions or Foster Homes?

Details and Dates ____________________

____

Special Problems or Psychiatric History of Siblings:

Name	Dates	Details

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Loss of Parent Due To: Date

Death

Divorce

Separation

Neglect

Special Characteristics of Key "Parenting" (adult, sibling or peer) Persons, including Teachers, Houseparents, etc., i.e., mobility, inconsistency, rigidity, sadism, emotional instability, alcoholism, etc.

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

II. Parent-Child Interaction re Discipline

Parental Physical Punishment or Aggression to Child

By same sex parent____

By opposite sex parent____________________________________

Sanctions/Penalties for Child's Aggression______________________

____

Child's Identification with Mother_______________________________

Child's Identification with Father_______________________________

Identification with Aggressor___________________________________

Parental Use of Isolation or Banishment_________________________

By same sex parent____

By opposite sex parent____________________________________

Parental Use of Deprivation

By same sex parent____

By opposite sex parent____________________________________

Parental Use of Withdrawal

By same sex parent____

By opposite sex parent____________________________________

Parental Use of Verbal Punishment

By same sex parent____

By opposite sex parent____________________________________

Sanctions/Penalties for Dependency Needs________________________

____

Sanctions/Penalties for Impulsivity, Sexuality or Other______________

____

Shame-Guilt____

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Parental Restrictions re "Territorial Freedom" and Punctuality

Was child free to leave front yard?____________________________

Was child free to leave street?_______________________________

Was child free to leave immediate neighborhood?__________________

Did child need to cross into "rough" neighborhood?________________

Parental Configuration:	(Birth - 2)	Both	M	F	Foster	Inst.
	(Child 1-12)	Both	M	F	Foster	Inst.
	(Adol 13-19)	Both	M	F	Foster	Inst.

Dominant Parental Influence:	(1st 6 mos.)	Balanced	Mat	Pat
	(6-36 mos.)	Balanced	Mat	Pat
	(3-5 yrs.)	Balanced	Mat	Pat
	(6-11 yrs.)	Balanced	Mat	Pat
	(12 yrs. on)	Balanced	Mat	Pat

Parental Warmth:

Mother	Indulg.	Ov-Prot.	Neg. or Reject	Abusive or Host.	Confused or Inconsistent
Father	Indulg.	Ov-Prot.	Neg. or Reject	Abusive or Host.	Confused or Inconsistent

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

III. Developmental Profile

Genetic or Constitutional________________________________

Pre-Natal____

Birth____

Feeding____

Developmental Milestones:

Toilet Training__________________Enuresis?__________

Motility______________________________________

Speech_______________________________________

Sleep____

Early Socialization_______________________________

Auto-Erotic Symptoms_____________________________

Auto-Aggressive Symptoms__________________________

Care of Possessions_______________________________

Play Pattern____________________________________

Sexual History:___________________________________

____

Rater's est impair in early psychosexual dev: none mild mod marked
Highest lev of adol sex adjust: Good Fair Poor Inadequate
Spec sex beh: none___exhibit___voyeur___fetish___
masochist___sadist___masturbation___
Rater's est deg homo propensity involvement:
none___slight___moderate___marked___

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Medical History:

Rater's est of sub's past physical health: Excl___Good___Mod___Poor___

Types of illnesses requiring med manage: Cardiovascular___Neurolog___
Metabolic___Muscular___Skelet___
Gastrointestinal___Respir___
Malignancy___

Operations & Age at Time of:____

Number of Hospitalizations:____

Role of CNS Infection: Unk___None___Slight___Mod___Marked___
Toxins: Unk___None___Slight___Mod___Marked___
Metabolic Dis: Unk___None___Slight___Mod___Marked___
Cerebrovascular: Unk___None___Slight___Mod___Marked___

Role of CNS Trauma: Unk___None___Slight___Mod___Marked___
Birth Injury: Unk___None___Slight___Mod___Marked___
Closed Head Injury: Unk___None___Slight___Mod___Marked___
Open Head Injury: Unk___None___Slight___Mod___Marked___
M.B.D. Label in Past____

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Current I.Q.____

EDUCATION:

Present Grade__________________

Attendance Record: Excl___Good___Mod___Poor___Chronic Truant___

Academic Achievement: Good___Ave___Poor___Failing___

Disciplinary Problems: Not Present___Mild___Mod___Marked___

Type of Educ. Program: Regular___Remedial___Discip.___

Parental Supervision of Schoolwork Good___Mod___Poor___None___

Degree of Aggression or Violence Prior to Institutionalization		Low	Moderate	High
Child's "Gang" or Group Activity		Low	Moderate	High
Aggressivity or Criminality in Family Members	(M)	None	Minor	Major
	(F)	None	Minor	Major
	(Sibs)	None	Minor	Major

Truancy, Incorrigibility or Special Problems (habit, conduct or other syndrome).

____

____

____

____

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Recreation and Leisure Time Activities:

Rater's est of time spent in active participation in leisure activities (i.e., reading, arts, crafts, hobbies, athletics)	High	Mod	Low	None
Rater's est of time spent in inactive leisure activities (i.e., spectator sports, art and music appreciation, movies, TV)	High	Mod	Low	None
Pattern of sub's relationship to others in leisure activities:	Member	Alone	Indescrim	
Impairment Due to Mental Illness:	None	Slight	Mod	Marked
Impairment Due to Physical Illness:	None	Slight	Mod	Marked

Role and Quality of Fantasy Life:

Pattern of Peer Relationships and Social Development:

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Development of Capacity to Relate to Other People:

Ability to care about others:

Unrelated emotionality to others ____________________

Intense, dependent attachments to others ____________________

Promiscuous superficial attachments to many others ____________________

Need-fulfilling attachments to others for the sole purpose of gratification ____________________

Intensely ambivalent attachments with love/hate affects and dependence-independence vacillations ____________________

Over-idealized attachments, "hero worship" ____________________

Narcissistic attachments where other's sole function is to make him/her feel more important ____________________

Give-and-take caring and tender relationships which survive momentary disagreements ____________________

Conspiratorial ____________________

Quantitative estimate of social-alone ration ____________________

____

Ability to moderate hostile impulses in light of concern for others

____

Ability to sublimate love and/or sexual longing into "friendships"

____

Ability to see others more or less realistically, as opposed to distorting others and casting them into unreal but projected roles

____

____

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Ego Functions - Assessment

Relationship to Reality:

Reality Testing ____

Adaptation to Reality ____________________________________

Sense of Reality ____

Regulation and Control of Drives:

Tolerance for Anxiety ____________________________________

Depression ____

Frustration ____

Thought Processes - Perception, Reason, Detect Similarities/Differences, Remember, Learn, etc.

____

____

____

Defensive Function - Including Most Prominent Mechanisms of Defense

____

____

____

Autonomous Functions - Motility, Intention, Perception, Speech, Language, etc.

____

____

____

Synthetic Functions and Self-Identity

____

____

____

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Object Relations ____

____

____

____

____

____

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

IV. Aggression-Violence Status

Qualitative Level

Feeding: Incorporative or Intake Fixation-Regression;
Basic Trust-Mistrust

____

Biting ____________________

"Devouring" ____________________

Control, Autonomy v Guilt, Shame (ambivalence, expulsion-retention, etc.)

____

Stubborn ____________________

Provocation-Teasing ____________________

Destructiveness ____________________

Sadism ____________________

Passive-Aggressive ____________________

Attacking (biting, kicking) ____________________

Phallic: Over bearing ____________________

Domineering ____________________

Exhibitionistic ____________________

Competitive ____________________

Intrusive ____________________

Latency: Play Activity ____________________

Curiosity ____________________

1 - 1 Competition ____________________

Puberty - Adolescence ____________________

____

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

V. Patterns of Aggression or Violence

Degree of Responsiveness to "Reality"______________________________

____

Presence or Absence of Projective Ideation__________________________

____

Goal-directed or Diffuse______________________________________

Frequency and Duration______________________________________

____

Related or Not to Identifiable Frustration or Provocation______________

____

Objects of Aggressive Behavior:
- Pets
- Younger Children
- Peers
- Older Children
- Adults
- Self
- Tings, Property

Use of Weapons or Implements__________________________________

Self-defeating or Sado-masochistic Character Traits__________________

____

Exposure to Physical Abuse____________________________________

____

Play with Fire____

____

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Developmental Overview:

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

VI. Television Habits

Exposure - Quantitative:

Did you watch television?	(this year)	Yes	No			
	(last year)	Yes	No			
	(little kid)	Yes	No			
Did you have television in your home?	(this year)	Yes	No			
	(last year)	Yes	No			
	(little kid)	Yes	No			
How many hours per day on school days?	(this year)	________				
	(last year)	________				
	(little kid)	________				
Did you select programs?	(this year)	Always	Some	Never		
	(last year)	Always	Some	Never		
	(little kid)	Always	Some	Never		
Who selected programs usually?	(this year)	Y	Sibs	P	Fr	Auth
	(last year)	Y	Sibs	P	Fr	Auth
	(little kid)	Y	Sibs	P	Fr	Auth
Were you required or forced to watch certain programs?	(this year)	Yes	No			
	(last year)	Yes	No			
	(little kid)	Yes	No			
What kind and when?	________________________________					
	________________________________					
	________________________________					
Were you prevented from watching certain programs?	(this year)	Yes	No			
	(last year)	Yes	No			
	(little kid)	Yes	No			
What kind and when?	________________________________					
	________________________________					
	________________________________					

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Content - Type Program

	Never	Some	Often
Sports:			
Boxing	____	____	____
Wrestling	____	____	____
Football	____	____	____
Basketball	____	____	____
Track	____	____	____
Roller Derby	____	____	____
Auto Racing	____	____	____
Skiing	____	____	____
Golf	____	____	____
Tennis	____	____	____
Hockey	____	____	____
Variety:	____	____	____
Musical Programs:			
Rock	____	____	____
Classical	____	____	____
Country	____	____	____
Comedy:			
Family Situation	____	____	____
Stand-up Type	____	____	____
Medical Shows:	____	____	____
News Shows:	____	____	____
Documentaries:	____	____	____
Law and Order:			
Police	____	____	____
Lawyers	____	____	____
War Types:	____	____	____
Westerns:	____	____	____
Quiz:	____	____	____
Soap Operas:	____	____	____
Horror:	____	____	____
Science Fiction:	____	____	____

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

	Never	Some	Often
Cartoons:	_____	_____	_____
Movies on TV:	_____	_____	_____

Type: ________________________

____

List three favorite shows: (little kid) ______________________________

____

____

Why? Brief Description: ____

____

____

List three favorite shows: (last year) ______________________________

____

____

Why? Brief Description: ____

____

____

List three favorite shows: (this year) ______________________________

____

____

Why? Brief Description: ____

____

____

Reality Testing, Judgement____
Are Fictional Characters seen
as Real?____

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Audience:

With whom did you watch TV?	(a kid)	Alone	Sibs	Par	Friends
	(last yr)	Alone	Sibs	Par	Friends
	(this yr)	Alone	Sibs	Par	Friends
Did you discuss television programs?	(a kid)	Never	Some	Often	
	(last yr)	Never	Some	Often	
	(this yr)	Never	Some	Often	

What discussions did you have?

(a kid) ____________________

____

(last yr) ____________________

____

(this yr) ____________________

____

Did you usually like the same programs as other viewers? Yes No

What did you disagree about? ____________________

____

Did you even watch programs you disliked? Yes No

Commercials:

When did you first notice commercials?	(a kid)	None	Some	Great
	(last yr)	None	Some	Great
	(this yr)	None	Some	Great
Did you feel put down or left out?	(a kid)	Yes	No	
	(last yr)	Yes	No	
	(this yr)	Yes	No	
Did you want things you saw?	(a kid)	Yes	No	
	(last yr)	Yes	No	
	(this yr)	Yes	No	
Did you ever get any of those things?	(a kid)	Yes	No	
	(last yr)	Yes	No	
	(this yr)	Yes	No	

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Effects:

Which programs helped you most? Sports Criminal Church

Old Mov. Cartoon West. War

How did television change your thoughts?
(a kid) ______
(last yr) ______
(this yr) ______

Did you find programs scary?
(a kid) Yes No
(last yr) Yes No
(this yr) Yes No

What type? ______

Did you have trouble getting them out of your mind? Yes No

Did you dream about things you saw? Yes No

What? ______

Did you play act television roles or plots? Yes No

Which ones? ______

When? ______

What impressions did television leave with you about -

	Television	Movies
Love		
Sex		
Death		
Killings		
Drugs		
Doctors		
Lawyers		
Catholics		
Jews		
Teachers		

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

	Television	Movies
Cops		
Prisons		
Schools		
Blacks		
Whites		
Indians		
Political Figures		
Rich		
Poor		

Did you ever do something bad that you saw on TV? Yes No

Did it work? ____________________

Did you consciously steal to get money for things you saw on television programs or commercials? Yes No

Did you also see movies?	None	Some	Many
plays?	None	Some	Many
sports?	None	Some	Many
hear radio?	None	Some	Many
read books?	None	Some	Many
see news programs?	None	Some	Many
play records?	None	Some	Many

In your opinion, did any of the above influence you more than television? Yes No

Which ones? ____________________

What are the biggest things that have made you get into fights?

____

____

____

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Did programs ever arouse you sexually? (Adol only) Yes No

Did programs ever arouse your anger? Yes No

What have you learned from television?

Information ______________________________

Morality ______________________________

Identification ______________________________

Social Instruction ______________________________

Athletic Instruction ______________________________

Other ______________________________

Of the things you have see	On TV	In Movies	In Real Life
What was the scariest?			
What was the funniest?			
What was the sadest?			
What was the worst?			
What was the most interesting?			
What was the most boring?			
What was the nicest?			

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Interviewer's Impressions:

Rater's estimate of degree of deviant behavior (with or without arrests, etc.) Low Mod Marked

Evidence of Functional Etiological Factors in Mental Disorder:

Intra -familial Pathology: None Slt Mod Marked
Extra-familial/Cultural & Situational Path: None Slt Mod Marked

Mental Status Examination:

Attitude to Rater: Pos Neut Ambiv Neg Very Neg

Reliability of Information: Good Fair Poor Very Poor

Physical Appearance: Looks his age Older Younger

Apparent Physical Health: Very Good Good Fair Poor

Physical Deformity: None Slight Moderate Marked
Type: ______________________

Weight: Under Average Over Gain Losing

Height: Short Average Tall Very Tall

Dress and Grooming:
Neat and Appropriate: Slt Moderate Marked
Unkempt: Slt Moderate Marked
Inappropriate: Slt Moderate Marked
Seductive: Slt Moderate Marked

	None	Slight	Moderate	Marked
Motor Behavior:				
Retardation	____	____	____	____
Excitement	____	____	____	____
Tics	____	____	____	____
Posturing	____	____	____	____
General Attitude:				
Uncooperative	____	____	____	____
Suspicious	____	____	____	____
Withdrawn	____	____	____	____
Obsequious	____	____	____	____

CHILD DEVELOPMENTAL DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

	None	Slight	Moderate	Marked
Mood and Affect:				
Depression	____	____	____	____
Anxiety	____	____	____	____
Anger	____	____	____	____
Flatness	____	____	____	____
Inappropriate	____	____	____	____
Speech and Thought:				
Incoherence	____	____	____	____
Irrelevance	____	____	____	____
Circumstantial	____	____	____	____
Content of Thought:				
Grandiosity	____	____	____	____
Reference	____	____	____	____
Obsessions	____	____	____	____
Delusions	____	____	____	____
Perceptions:				
Hallucinations	____	____	____	____
Sensorium:				
Orientation Disturbance	____	____	____	____
Memory Disturbance	____	____	____	____

Intelligence Estimate: Superior Bright Avg. Border

Overall Severity of Illness: None Slight Moderate Marked

Diagnostic Impression: ____

____

____

COMPOSITE AGGRESSION INVENTORY

This inventory was composed of twenty-six declarative statements concerning various aspects of aggression with which the subject could indicate his agreement ("Yes") or disagreement "No") or reflect his ambivalence, conflict or reservations ("Maybe"). This inventory is a composite of the more reliable test items from existing instruments. These include a number of items from Sears' work, focusing on the approval of violence. A second group of statements from Buss-Durkee's work concerns the expressed willingness to use violence. ("Anyone who insults me or my family is asking for a fight.") A third dependent variable concerned the perceived effectiveness of violence as a means of solving problems. ("A fight is the best way to settle something once and for all.")

A "Yes" response was assigned a weighted value of 3, a "No" response a value of 1, and a "Maybe" a value of 2.

COMPOSITE AGGRESSION INVENTORY

NAME ______________________ DATE ____________ AGE ________

Here are a number of statements that may or may not be true about how you feel, Please read each statement and give your own opinion. Answer each question, even if you have to guess. If you agree with the statement or feel that it is true about your feeling, check the box under "Yes" column. If you disagree, or feel it is not true about your feeling, check the box under "No" column. There is also a column for "Maybe" or "sometimes" feelings.

YES NO MAYBE

___ ___ ___ 1. A boxing or wrestling match is more exciting when it is a real grudge fight, and the fighters are really made at each other.

___ ___ ___ 2. If an older kid is mean to a younger kid, it is alright for the younger kid to get back at him in any way he can--even in some sneaky or secret way.

___ ___ ___ 3. It is natural for boys to want to fight.

___ ___ ___ 4. Sometimes a real fight is the only way to settle an argument.

___ ___ ___ 5. I don't see anything especially wrong about a fight between two teenage groups; it is their business, and grownups should keep out of it.

___ ___ ___ 6. If you want to get something in this world, you have to fight for it.

___ ___ ___ 7. I hit my friends more often than they hit me.

___ ___ ___ 8. Football would be a better game if the players were tougher and played real hard.

___ ___ ___ 9. You have to push and shove to get some place.

___ ___ ___ 10. There should be more fighting stories on TV.

___ ___ ___ 11. I can think of plenty of reasons for wanting to hit some kids.

___ ___ ___ 12. Once in a while, I cannot control my wanting to hurt others.

___ ___ ___ 13. Anyone who insults me or my family is asking for a fight.

COMPOSITE AGGRESSION INVENTORY

___ ___ ___ 14. People who pester you are asking to get clobbered.

___ ___ ___ 15. When I really lose my temper, I can hit someone.

___ ___ ___ 16. I get into fights about as often as the next kid.

___ ___ ___ 17. If someone pushes me too far, we come to blows.

___ ___ ___ 18. If somebody, big or little, hits me first, then I strike back.

___ ___ ___ 19. If I have to hit someone to get what I want I will.

___ ___ ___ 20. If someone is not fair to me, I can hit them.

___ ___ ___ 21. Sometimes a fight is the easiest way to get what you want.

___ ___ ___ 22. A fight is the best way to settle an argument once and for all.

___ ___ ___ 23. People look up to you if they are afraid of you.

___ ___ ___ 24. A good fight makes things better.

___ ___ ___ 25. If you have it in for some kid, the best way to get even is to clobber the kid.

___ ___ ___ 26. If you are not getting what is coming to you, then it is fair to get it by fighting.

DRAWINGS

Scoring:

An aggression score on a scale from 0 to 2 was obtained for the pictures drawn following TV exposure. A score of 2 was assigned to those pictures which contained representations of aggressive actions (fighting, shouting), a prominently displayed weapon (knife, gun) or written aggressive statements attributed to the characters pictured. A score of 1 was assigned to pictures which implied either completed or incipient aggression. Thus, the presence of a policeman, a jail, a holstered gun or an action or implement associated with aggression in the film, but not aggressive in itself (telephone) were considered as having implications of aggressive intent. A score of 0 was assigned to pictures which contained no aggressive activity or implement.

The presence of anxiety was inferred from the shading and scribbling found in the pictures. Machover (1949) has cited these two attributes of figure drawings as indicators of anxiety. A score of 2 was assigned to those pictures which scribbling dominated the drawing, filling a major amount of space and obscuring the attempt to complete the picture. A score of 1 represented moderate amounts of shading or scribbling in relatively intact drawings. A score of 0 was given to those drawings containing neither appreciable scribbling or shading.

Thus, 2 scores were obtained, one for aggression and one for anxiety.

PARENT LETTERS

March 2, 1973

Dear Parent:

I am writing to ask your cooperation in a research project which the Department of Education and Child Development, Bryn Mawr College is undertaking with the School District. Your school has been selected as the school appropriate for this research. Dr. Janet Hoopes will be directing the research and graduate students will be assisting.

Many of you have undoubtedly heard about the research on television and aggression. You also know that television can be an important teaching tool in the school. Dr. Hoopes is interested in exploring how a child responds to TV. Specifically she is investigating the relationship between learning styles in children and what they remember from the TV show. There is particular interest in how children respond to pro-social elements in TV. At the moment the project is limited to fourth and fifth grade children. A minimum of school time will be devoted to this project and it should be a positive experience for the child.

The research will depend on cooperation from parents. I am inviting you to a meeting at the school to hear more about it from Dr. Hoopes.

Date: Friday, March 9th
Time: 2:00 P.M.
Place: School auditorium

Sincerely yours,

Principal

PARENT LETTERS

CHILD STUDY INSTITUTE
Bryn Mawr College
Bryn Mawr, Pa.

May 1, 1973

Dear Parent:

In March your principal wrote to you regarding a research project which I am directing from the Department of Education and Child Development. The School District and Bryn Maw College are cooperating on this. The project is exploring the relationship between learning styles in children and what they remember from a T.V. show. We are currently working with your child on some interesting picture tasks and will be showing them a T.V. film in the auditorium in the near future.

Part of the research concerns a report from parents on the child's T.V. viewing at home. We are collecting this data through a questionnaire. For those of you who were unable to come to the school in March, we are enclosing a questionnaire for you to fill out at home and return to us. I would be most appreciative if you would fill it out and return it to me in the enclosed envelope.

It is difficult to explain a research project fully in a letter, but if you have questions about the project please do not hesitate to call me. Even though your child's name is on the top of the questionnaire, the data will be treated anonymously.

Thank you in advance.

Sincerely,

Janet L. Hoopes, Ph.D.
Director

enc.

PARENT QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is designed to help us understand the relationship between T.V. viewing and how children perceive the world. It is obvious that the child learns something from T.V. but what he learns and how he learns it are matters of considerable importance to concerned adults. It would be most helpful if you could answer the following questions, choosing and circling an alternative closest to what you feel is the correct answer. Your responses will be kept confidential. Thank you for your cooperation.

____
(Child's name)

1. Household members. Please indicate ages of all members and add on to it if necessary.

	Age		Age
Father	____	Son	____
Mother	____	Son	____
Daughter	____	(Other)	____
Daughter	____	(Other)	____

2. How many television sets do you have that work?
Please circle correct number: 0 1 2 3 4

3. Does your child have a television set of his own? Yes___ No___

4. How many hours per weekday, on the average, does your child spend watching TV? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6

5. How many hours per weekend day, on the average, does your child spend watching TV? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6

6. When is he likely to watch? Write approximate number of hours in the blank provided:

	Week days	Week ends
Morning or before school	____	____
Afternoon or after school	____	____
After 6:00 p.m.	____	____

7. How often do you select the programs which your child watches?

Always___ Frequently___ Seldom___ Never___

PARENT QUESTIONNAIRE

8. Are there any specific programs which your child wants to watch which he is not allowed to see? Yes___ No___

If *yes*, please list: ____________________

____

____

____

9. Are there any programs you frequently watch with your child?

Yes___ No___

If *yes*, please name ____________________

____

____

____

10. How many times in the last week would you say you have watched a program with your child? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

11. What are your child's favorite programs? ____________________

____

____

12. What are the programs you see at least once every 2 weeks?

____________________ ____________________

____________________ ____________________

13. How closely does your child attend to the programs?

Intently without distraction____ Distracted____

Closely, little distraction____ Very distracted____

14. Does your child move around physically while watching?

Stays very still____ Moves a lot____

Moves some____ Hardly stays still at all____

15. Is your child sometimes keyed up after a program? Yes____ No____

PARENT QUESTIONNAIRE

16. Does your child generally do anything else while watching TV? Circle more than one if appropriate:

Eat_____ Study, read_____ Hobby work_____ Talk_____ Play_____

Other work_____

17. Does your child have any favorite TV characters? Yes_____ No_____
If yes, please list: ______________ ______________ ______________

______________ ______________ ______________

18. Does he ever incorporate TV characters into his fantasy play activities?

Never_____ Infrequently_____ Frequently_____ Always_____

19. Does he ever pretend that he is a television character?

Never_____ Infrequently_____ Frequently_____ Always_____

20. Does your child dream?

Never_____ Infrequently_____ Frequently_____ Always_____

21. Does he dream about characters or stories seen on TV?

Never_____ Infrequently_____ Frequently_____ Always_____

22. How often do you discuss TV programs with your child?

Never_____ Infrequently_____ Frequently_____ Always_____

23. What other activities does your child engage in, like clubs, sports, music lessons, etc.? Please fill in blank is appropriate space:

	Week Days	Week Ends
Morning (or before school)	________	________
Afternoon (or after school)	________	________
Evening (after dinner)	________	________

24. How many minutes at a time does your child remain seated and working intently on a worthwhile assignment?

0-15 15-20 30-45 45-60

25. How vividly and accurately does your child retell experiences such as a trip which you have been on with him?

Remembers little____________ Remembers most details____________

Remembers some details______ Main events most always accurate___

Main events distorted_______ Very vivid and accurate___________

PROGRAM REPORT

PREFERENCE RATING:

Subjects expressed their reaction to the films on a 3 point scale. A rating of 1 indicated dislike of the film, a rating of 2 moderate liking, and a rating of 3 strong liking.

ELICITED FEELINGS:

The checklist of adjectives reflected the subjects' willingness to admit negative feelings aroused by the TV material such as diffuse excitement, fear, anger and sadness. A weighted scoring system was utilized. Rejection of the adjective yielded a score of 0. Moderate agreement received a score of 1. Strong agreement was scored 2. Scores were summed to obtain a total score for adjectives. Thus, three scores were derived from the Program Report.

RECALL:

The supplementary questions served as an additional measure of verbalized aggression associated with the film. Questions 1, 2, and 8 reflected readiness to recall aggressive incidents; question 4 involved approval of aggression; and question 7 assessed the desire for increased aggression in the film. Each response that reflected interest in or approval of aggression was assigned a score of 1. Non-aggressive responses were scored 0. A total score for aggression was obtained by summing the Question Scores.

PROGRAM REPORTS

Name: ______________________ Date: ______________

Birthdate: ______________________ T.V. Program ______________

	Liked it very much	Like it a little	Dislike
Program Report No. I (PREFERENCE RATING)			
I. How much did you like the program you just watched?	______	______	______

	Not at all	A little	Very
Program Report No. II (ELICITED FEELINGS)			
II. Indicate how the program made you feel by blacking in one of the three choices for each word listed below.			
good	______	______	______
excited	______	______	______
afraid	______	______	______
bored	______	______	______
annoyed	______	______	______
nervous	______	______	______
angry	______	______	______
sad	______	______	______
happy	______	______	______
upset	______	______	______

PROGRAM REPORTS

Program Report No. III (RECALL)

1. What was the best thing about the picture, or the part you really liked?

2. What was the worst thing about the picture, or the part you disliked?

3. Why were there angry feelings or fighting?

4. Should the angry feelings or fighting have come out, or not?

5. Did the good people get enough protection against the bad people?

6. Could things that happen in this picture happen again for real?

7. If you had your way, how would you make up or end the story?

8. Was there anything "funny" about this picture?

REACTION TEST

Lieberman's - WHAT DO YOU FEEL LIKE DOING RIGHT NOW?

This checklist reflects the number of aggressiveness actions that the subject expresses interest in carrying out.

Scoring:

A weighted scoring system was utlized.

2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12 are only items which pertain to aggression

NOT AT ALL of key numbers equal a value of 1

MAYBE or VERY MUCH of key numbers equal a value of 2

Scores were summed to obtain total score for aggressive reactions.

REACTION TEST

WHAT DO YOU FEEL LIKE DOING RIGHT NOW?

NAME: ______________________________

	VERY MUCH	MAYBE	NOT AT ALL
1. TAKE A WALK			
2. CALL SOMEONE A DIRTY NAME			
3. GET A DRINK OF WATER			
4. HIT SOMEONE WITH A STICK			
5. TALK TO THE BOY NEXT TO ME			
6. HOPE SOMETHING BAD HAPPENS TO SOMEONE			
7. TELL A JOKE			
8. TELL SOMEONE YOU WILL GET EVEN WITH THEM			
9. GO TO THE BATHROOM			
10. HIT SOMEONE WITH A ROCK			
11. JUMP UP AND DOWN			
12. PUSH SOMEONE			
13. LOOK OUT THE WINDOW			

SEARS AGGRESSION SCALES

Sears devised a set of measures of aggression that were applicable to children. These scales were composed of items in the form of declarative sentences with which the child would express his agreement ("Yes") or disagreement ("No"). The content of each item was designed to express one modality of aggression, the total schema in the Sears approach consisting of five modalities, each with separate scales that will be described.

1. Aggression Anxiety: This scale measured feeling of fear, discomfort and dislike of aggression. The aggressive stimulus to the arousal of such feelings was either placed in the person himself ("It's upsetting to think some crack of mine might hurt someone.") or outside the self ("It makes me uncomfortable to see two of my friends fighting.") These external stimulus conditions ranged from personal or social, as in the last example, to relatively impersonal events ("If someone is hurt in an accident, I try to get a good view.") There are references to avoidance behavior, somatic symptoms, guilt, and expectations of discomfort.

2. Projected Aggression: This scale measured the tendency to attribute aggression to sources outside the self. The items included a range of objects of hostility. The agents of aggression ranged from specific ("Big dogs are likely to be dangerous.") to the very general ("There are so many bad people that my own town is as dangerous to live in as a real jungle.") The agents to whom aggression and violence were attributed included people, animals and natural forces.

SEARS AGGRESSION SCALES

3. Self Aggression: These items referred to injury or punishment of the self. ("Sometimes I think I deserve more punishment than I get for the things I do.")

4. Prosocial Aggression: Prosocial aggression is aggression used in a socially approved way for purposes that are acceptable to the normal standards of the group. The items referred to law enforcement, strictness of control, punishment for breaking rules, and insistence on appropriate rules about aggression. ("Every club should have a set of definite rules, and someone should be chosen to enforce the rules.")

5. Antisocial Aggression: The aggression referred to here are ones that are rormally unacceptable socially in the formal pattern of our culture. Items included references to the positive desirability of powerful aggressive drives, the acceptability of ordinarily disapproved forms of aggression, and to the "naturalness" of aggression as a form of social interaction. ("Sometimes an actual fight is the only way to settle an argument.").

Scoring:

(1) Aggression Anxiety - correct response equals 1 (See Scoring Sheet for code for each item.)

(2) Projected Aggression

(3) Self-Aggression

(4) Pro-Social Aggression

(5) Anti-Social Behavior

same procedure as above

Test is scored two times (1 Pre and 1 Post)

WRONG ANSWER GETS NO VALUE

SEARS AGGRESSION SCALE

NAME ____ DATE ____________________

Here are a number of statements that may or may not be true about you. Please reach each statement and give your own opinion. Answer each question, even if you have to guess. If you agree with the statement or feel that it is true about you, check the box under "Yes" column. If you disagree, or feel it is not true about you, check the box under "No" column.

YES NO

___ ___ 1. It makes me uncomfortable to see two of my friends fighting.

___ ___ 2. If someone gets hurt in an accident, I usually try to get a good view of what happened.

___ ___ 3. My close friends trust me enough so I never have to wonder what they think of me.

___ ___ 4. I really enjoy reading an adventure story with a lot of good fights in it.

___ ___ 5. When I am hungry, I would like to eat something sweet (like cake) better than something filling (like a meat or peanut butter sandwich).

___ ___ 6. A boxing or wrestling match is more exciting when it's a real grudge fight, and the fighters are really mad at each other.

___ ___ 7. Every club should have a set of definite rules for the members, and someone should be chosen to enforce the rules.

___ ___ 8. It upsets me to think that some thoughtless word or crack of mine might hurt someone's feelings.

___ ___ 9. There is a good chance that radiation from atomic bombs will kill off the human race.

___ ___ 10. A good cleanly fought football game is about the best sport there is.

___ ___ 11. There are really important differences between men and women in the kinds of books they like to read.

___ ___ 12. When I get angry, I usually feel bad afterward.

___ ___ 13. A lot of adults seem to have it in for kids, and always are causing them trouble.

___ ___ 14. I cannot imagine what it would be like really to consider committing suicide.

SEARS AGGRESSION SCALE

YES NO

___ ___ 15. There is never any excuse to hit somebody smaller than you.

___ ___ 16. I think it is important for men of my age to begin thinking about how to get ahead in life.

___ ___ 17. It makes me nervous to hear a gang of men getting into arguments even when I'm not involved.

___ ___ 18. Big dogs are likely to be dangerous.

___ ___ 19. Schools ought to pay more attention to track and field sports and swimming, and less to football and boxing.

___ ___ 20. Laws against fighting ought to be more strictly enforced.

___ ___ 21. I usually feel happier on the weekends then I do during the week.

___ ___ 22. Sometimes I feel that I have about as many enemies as I have friends.

___ ___ 23. When I get too angry, I'm liable to get in trouble.

___ ___ 24. A romantic movie always leaves me feeling dreamy afterward.

___ ___ 25. Sometimes I feel that there are so many bad people in the world that even my own town is about as dangerous to live in as a real jungle.

___ ___ 26. I like almost any kind of work or sports at which I can compete with someone else and maybe win.

___ ___ 27. It is all right for a teacher to criticize someone in front of the class if that person has broken a rule.

___ ___ 28. If I had a chance to play a part in a Hollywood movie, I would enjoy it very much.

___ ___ 29. There are too many vicious crimes described in the newspapers.

___ ___ 30. When someone does not pay attention to me, or just seems to look right through me, it is usually because he is secretly mad at me.

___ ___ 31. A good argument is all right if everybody keeps his temper under control.

___ ___ 32. If an older boy is mean to a younger one, the younger one has a perfect right to get even with him in any way he can, even in some secret or sneaky way.

___ ___ 33. Stamp collecting is one of my favorite hobbies.

___ ___ 34. I hate to hear people at a baseball game yelling "Kill the umpire!"

SEARS AGGRESSION SCALE

YES NO

___ ___ 35. I have to be careful what I say to people, because they get mad so easily.

___ ___ 36. It is perfectly natural for boys to want to fight sometimes.

___ ___ 37. I would like to be a politician as a career.

___ ___ 38. Sometimes I think I deserve more punishment than I get for the things I do.

___ ___ 39. If a person has a quick temper, you just have to expect him to blow up sometimes, and you shouldn't pay too much attention.

___ ___ 40. I get along best with my friends when I am with just one or two at a time instead of a whole crowd.

___ ___ 41. I usually don't show it when I get angry, but it leaves me shaking inside afterward.

___ ___ 42. Farming would be a good job because it gives you a chance to watch things grow.

___ ___ 43. I don't think there is anybody who really is trying to do me harm.

___ ___ 44. I get nervous when a big crowd of people are coming toward me.

___ ___ 45. Teasing kinds of jokes are always a littler dangerous because the kidding may get out of hand.

___ ___ 46. When a person has broken an important rule, he should definitely be punished for it.

___ ___ 47. Everybody in school should have a chance to act in a play sometime.

___ ___ 48. Teachers should be very careful never to let a class discussion get too heated or too personal.

___ ___ 49. If you treat people decently, they nearly always treat you that way, too.

___ ___ 50. Just when things are going best for me, I seem to do something that brings down punishment on me.

___ ___ 51. Every boy ought to be taught how to box.

___ ___ 52. I usually feel pretty happy when I wake up in the morning.

___ ___ 53. I like to watch a real man-sized slugging match in a movie or TV.

___ ___ 54. Most of my troubles have been started by other people.

___ ___ 55. There is too much emphasis these days on competitive sports.

SEARS AGGRESSION SCALE

YES NO

___ ___ 56. Sometimes an actual fight is the only way to settle an argument.

___ ___ 57. When you are feelinglonesome and unhappy, eating something is the best thing to do.

___ ___ 58. Even with your best friend, a good fight often seems to clear the air and make you feel better.

___ ___ 59. Sometimes I have dreams in which somebody hurts me.

___ ___ 60. There have been times when I was so angry I felt like practically killing myself.

___ ___ 61. At school, teachers should never permit any pushing or shoving among the children because someone might get hurt.

___ ___ 62. I would like to be very good at mechanical things, such as fixing automobiles or using power tools in a shop.

___ ___ 63. Arguing nearly always leads to trouble in one way or another.

___ ___ 64. People seem to find fault with me more than I deserve.

___ ___ 65. I have had more accidents in which I was injured than most men my age.

___ ___ 66. I don't see anything especially wrong about a fight between two gangs of teen-agers; it's their business, and grown-ups should keep out of it.

___ ___ 67. Every boy and girl should know how to dance before high school age.

___ ___ 68. When some person criticizes or scolds me,I get all tied up inside and cannot answer back.

___ ___ 69. Sometimes when I have been out alone at night, I have had the feeling that somebody was following me even though I could never prove it.

___ ___ 70. There is too much fighting and arguing shown on TV.

___ ___ 71. My friends get made at me more often that I get mad at them.

___ ___ 72. When I am tired from playing outdoors, I like to be alone while I rest.

___ ___ 73. If a sixth grader starts a fight, he should be punished in some way, no matter why he started it.

___ ___ 74. It is really fun to save money and watch your savings add up.

___ ___ 75. Football would be a better game if you could be sure nobody would get tough and mean.

SEARS AGGRESSION SCALE

YES NO

___ ___ 76. I do not like to give a report to a group of people.

___ ___ 77. It is all right to hurt someone as a punishment for doing wrong, but that is absolutely the only time one person should ever hurt another.

___ ___ 78. It makes me nervous when another person tries to be too friendly with me.

___ ___ 79. You have to stand up for your rights -- even to the extent of fighting -- if you want to get along in the world.

___ ___ 80. At my age, women are usually more interested in dancing than men are.

SITUATIONS TEST

Scoring:

In response to 7 hypothetical situations which focused on aggressive encounters, the subjects had to respond "Yes" or "No" regarding their use of the following modalities in each situation:

1) Mild Aggression
2) Verbal Aggression
3) Covert Aggression
4) Direct Aggression
5) Severe Aggression

Thus, five measures were available, reflecting the differential use of each of the preceding categories, derived by summing up the subject's choice of each category in the "Yes" column.

SITUATIONS TEST

NAME____ DATE__________________

SITUATIONS

Here are a number of different situations. Different actions that could be taken are listed after each situation. For each action choice, show whether it is something you would do or not do. You can do this by blackening in the box under the "Yes" column if you think this choice is something you might do in the particular situation. If the choice is something you would not do, blacken in the box under the "No" column. Take a guess if you are not sure. Put down "Yes" or "No" for each choice on the paper: in other words, you might think of doing more than one thing.

1. A boy (girl) grabs something good that you are carrying and throws it in a puddle. What would you do?

YES NO

___ ___ 1. Do nothing

___ ___ 2. Give the boy (girl) a piece of your mind

___ ___ 3. Hope something bad happens to him (her)

___ ___ 4. Hit him (her) with your fist

___ ___ 5. Hit him (her) with a rock or something hard

2. A boy (girl) stops you on the street and says you had better give him (her) your money. What would you do?

___ ___ 1. Give him (her) the money, and go away

___ ___ 2. Call him (her) a dirty name

___ ___ 3. Hope something bad happens to him (her)

___ ___ 4. Have a fist fight with him (her)

___ ___ 5. Hit him (her) with a piece of wood or something hard

3. A boy (girl) calls your parents a dirty name. What would you do?

___ ___ 1. Call him (her) a dirty name back

___ ___ 2. Just ignore him (her)

___ ___ 3. Clobber him (her) with something real hard

___ ___ 4. Wish that he (she) hurts himself (herself)

___ ___ 5. Fight him (her) with your hands

SITUATIONS TEST

4. A boy (girl) trips you as you are walking. What would you do?

YES NO
___ ___ 1. Kick him (her) back

___ ___ 2. Pick up something and throw it at him (her)

___ ___ 3. Pick yourself up and just go on your way

___ ___ 4. Have angry words over what he (she) did

___ ___ 5. Hope somebody does the same thing to him (her)

5. One of the boys (girls) tells your teacher that you cheated on a test. What would you do?

___ ___ 1. Hope that somebody squeals on him (her)

___ ___ 2. Think nothing of it

___ ___ 3. Talk back to the boy (girl)

___ ___ 4. Slap him (her)

___ ___ 5. Hit him (her) with a book or ruler

6. A boy (girl) unfairly beat you in a race or game. What would you do?

___ ___ 1. Just forget it

___ ___ 2. Pick up anything around to throw at him (her)

___ ___ 3. Wish that he (she) runs into trouble

___ ___ 4. Argue with him (her) about what happened

___ ___ 5. Get into a fist fight

7. A boy (girl) threatens to tell your parents that you stole something. What would you do?

___ ___ 1. Hit him (her) with a rock or stick

___ ___ 2. Do nothing

___ ___ 3. Push him (her) around with your hands

___ ___ 4. Spread stories about him (her) to others

___ ___ 5. Tell him (her) off

STORY REVIEW

NAME____ AGE__________

DATE________________

1. If you just finished seeing a movie that had some fighting or people getting hurt, pretend that you were part of the action. Check one thing that you would do:

_____ 1) I would use the same weapons shown in the movie.

_____ 2) I would use something, but not the same thing in the movie.

_____ 3) I would not use anything at all.

2. Imagine that you were part of the movie that you just saw. If there was fighting in it, how hard would you really hit someone? Begin at the left side at "Start" and draw a line that goes to the right as far as you want.

START

Do nothing Soft punch Hard punch Clobber

3. From what you saw of the bad guy, check the one that says how you would act if you could have your own way.

_____ I would do just what he did

_____ I would do something like what he did

_____ I would do just the opposite of what he did

_____ I would be less likely to do anything that he did

4. Is the bad guy in this picture all bad? Check

_____ Yes

_____ No

5. List anything you remember of the bad guys.

STORY REVIEW

6. How much would you want to be just like the good guy? Begin on the left side at "Start" and make a line that goes to the right sd far as you want.

START

Not much A little A lot Just like him

7. From what you saw of the good guy, check the one that says how you would act if you could have your own way.

_____ I would do just what he did

_____ I would do something like what he did

_____ I would do just the opposite of what he did

_____ I would be less likely to do anything that he did

8. Is the good guy all good? Check.

_____ Yes

_____ No

9. List anything you remember about the good guys.

10. Are there any people in this movie who are "in-between" bad and good? Check.

_____ Yes

_____ No

STORY WRITING

Scoring:

The number of words in the narrative material obtained rom subjects after TV viewing was counted to obtain a measure of story length. All words were counted.

The aggressiveness of the verbal material was assessed by means of a count of the aggressive units found in the story. An aggressive unit consists of one explicitly aggressive action or of several explicitly aggressive actions grouped together in one thought. Thus: "He hit and kicked the man till he fell down" would represent one aggressive unit. However, two aggressive actions that are conceptually separate would be counted as two units. For example: "He hit the man until he fell down. He kicked him a lot, too." would be considered as 2 units. If a given aggressive statement was repeated at a different point in the narrative it was given an additional unit count.

Two scores were obtained; one for word count, and one for aggression.

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE (A)

Name____

We want to ask you some questions about the TV program. This is not a test, but just to see what you think. Check the answer that you feel is the right one. You may ask for help if you do not understand anything.

1. Were the people
_____ Not very helpful
_____ A little helpful
_____ Quite helpful
_____ Extremely helpful

2. Was what you saw
_____ Not very violent
_____ A little violent
_____ Quite violent
_____ Extremely violent

3. Was what you saw
_____ Not very cruel
_____ A little cruel
_____ Quite cruel
_____ Extremely cruel

4. Was what you saw
_____ Not very kind
_____ A little kind
_____ Quite kind
_____ Extremely kind

5. Were the people
_____ Not very angry
_____ A little angry
_____ Quite angry
_____ Extremely angry

6. Was what you saw
_____ Not very funny
_____ A little funny
_____ Quite funny
_____ Extremely funny

7. Was what you saw
_____ Not very serious
_____ A little serious
_____ Quite serious
_____ Extremely serious

8. What you saw was
_____ A very good thing to watch
_____ Quite a good thing
_____ Quite a bad thing
_____ A very bad thing to watch

9. What you saw was
_____ A very funny thing to see
_____ Quite a funny thing
_____ Quite a sad thing
_____ A very sad thing to see

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE (A)

10. Was it
____ A wonderful show
____ Quite a good show
____ Quite a bad show
____ A terrible show

11. Does what you saw
____ Make you feel like laughing a lot
____ Make you feel like laughing a little
____ Not make you feel like laughing very much
____ Not make you feel like laughing at all

12. Was what you saw a show like
____ You really like to see
____ You sometimes like to see
____ You don't like to see very much
____ You don't like to see at all

13. What you saw was
____ Very much like real life
____ Quite like real life
____ Not quite like real life
____ Not at all like real life

14. Here are some things other students say about this kind of television program. We want to know how often you think this way - how often do you feel this way about this kind of program?

a. T.V. Programs give me ideas on how to get away with something without getting caught.
____ Often
____ Sometimes
____ Not too often
____ Never

b. I like to be like people on the program who do good things just because they want to.
____ Often
____ Sometimes
____ Not too often
____ Never

c. When the bad guy gets a beating he deserves, I feel like getting even with people who have bothered me.
____ Often
____ Sometimes
____ Not too often
____ Never

d. I learn from T.V. that people have problems and they are not really as bad as they seem to be.
____ Often
____ Sometimes
____ Not too often
____ Never

e. I learn from T.V. how to do good things so that people will like me.
____ Often
____ Sometimes
____ Not too often
____ Never

f. When someone on the program attacks another person and isn't punished, I feel I can get away with it too.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not too often
_____ Never

g. I copy the things I see people doing on these kinds of shows.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not too often
_____ Never

h. Programs like this show me how to be helpful to people who are in trouble.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not too often
_____ Never

i. A program like this shows me how to get back at people who make me angry.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not at all
_____ Never

15. a. Some characters like those in this show remind me of people who have made me mad.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not too often
_____ Never

b. Some stories like this remind me of good things that have happened to me.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not too often
_____ Never

c. The people I see in this kind of program are just like the people I meet in real life.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not at all
_____ Never

d. The characters like those in this show remind me of people who have made me happy.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not too often
_____ Never

e. Some stories like this remind me of frustrating things that have happened to me.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not at all
_____ Never

16. a. I am happy when my favorite star is winning.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not at all
_____ Never

b. I get excited when I watch programs like this.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not too often
_____ Never

c. I am so involved in some programs that I get carried away with the story.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not too often
_____ Never

d. I pay close attention to shows like this.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not too often
_____ Never

e. I get upset when my favorite star is yelled at or threatened.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not too often
_____ Never

f. I feel like things that happen to the hero are really happening to me.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not too often
_____ Never

g. I forget that characters on show like this are just actors playing roles.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not too often
_____ Never

17. When I am watching a show like this:

a. During the exicting part I move closer to the T.V. or lean forward to better see what is happening.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not too often
_____ Never

b. I get all tensed up.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not too often
_____ Never

c. I cover my eyes or look away.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not too often
_____ Never

d. I laugh.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not too often
_____ Never

e. I bite my nails.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not too often
_____ Never

f. I jump up and run around.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not too often
_____ Never

g. I shout or cheer.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not too often
_____ Never

h. I cry in a sad part.

_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Not too often
_____ Never

18. Name the one person on television who you would most like to be. ____________________

19. Please write down what time it is when you finish this questionnaire. ____________________

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE (B)

Name____

Here are some questions about the film you just saw. This is not a test and you will not be graded on it but we would like you to try to do the best you can. If you find any question too hard just put down the answer you think is the best one. Please put your name at the top and circle the letter of the correct answer.

Please do not go back and change any answer.

1. How often do you watch Mod Squad?

   a. Most every week
   b. About every two weeks
   c. About every three weeks
   d. About once a month or less

2. Have you seen this show before?

   a. Yes
   b. No

3. What is Billy trying to do?

   a. Get even with the loan company
   b. Stay hidden from the cops
   c. Get well so he can go back to school
   d. Find his father

4. The pawnbroker was the shopkeeper that sold Pete the watch. What kind of man was he?

   a. He was nice because he helped Pete find Billy's father.
   b. He was watching out for himself, he didn't want to get involved.
   c. He was on Charlie Weaver's side.
   d. He killed George Brown.

5. Which part did you like best?

   a. When Billy saw his father's watch.
   b. When Frank got hit by Pete.
   c. When Billy saw his father.
   d. When Frank almost fell to the bears.

6. Put these events in order. (Put number one by the first one that happened.)

   _____ a. Pete buys the watch
   _____ b. Hattie goes to the zoo to warn Lewis
   _____ c. Pete didn't tell where Billy was
   _____ d. The doctor comes
   _____ e. Hattie helps Lewis Clark read

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE (B)

7. What was Billy doing at the beginning of the film?

   a. He climbed into a trash can to get out of the rain.
   b. He was running from Pete.
   c. He was running from the cops.
   d. He was running from a gang of boys.
   e. He was coming in from West Virginia on a bus.

8. The name of the restaurant was

   a. Joe's Cafe
   b. Acme Diner
   c. Joe's Diner
   d. The Sandwich Shop

9. Billy's father

   a. Was a murderer, he killed George Brown.
   b. Was a good man who got into trouble.
   c. Only did what he had to.
   d. Was innocent.

10. Put these events in order. Put number one by the first one that happened.

   ____ a. George Brown dies.
   ____ b. Hattie gets beat up.
   ____ c. Linc breaks through the window.
   ____ d. Pete gets tough with the restaurant owner.
   ____ e. Pete gets beat up.

11. Hattie

   a. Was a good woman who wanted to help Lewis Clark.
   b. Was a liar because she lied to Pete about Lewis.
   c. Was as bad as good.
   d. Was bad because she didn't help Pete find Lewis.

12. When Frank came into the barn at the zoo

   a. Frank shot Lewis
   b. Lewis stabbed Frank in the arm.
   c. Linc surprised Frank from the rear.
   d. Frank got scared and ran.

13. What is the moral of the story?

   a. Borrowing is a bad habit.
   b. Don't let anyone bug your office.
   c. Police are sometimes helpful.
   d. You can't hide from people.

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE (B)

14. Billy was in a trash can in the beginning. What color was it?

    a. Black
    b. Blue
    c. Green
    d. White

15. After Linc pulled Frank out of danger from falling down to the bears, Pete hit Frank. What do you think about this?

    a. Pete was just getting even, I would have done the same thing.
    b. No one should ever hit anyone else.
    c. Pete shouldn't have hit him. Two wrongs don't make a right.
    d. Pete didn't need to hit him that hard.

16. When Linc went into the Loan Office the first time

    a. He dropped his pencil on purpose.
    b. He picked up a pencil that was on the floor that he accidentally dropped.
    c. He dropped his pencil to cover up planting the recorder.
    d. He plugged in a light cord.

17. When Frank was about to fall to the bears Linc made him confess. What do you think about this?

    a. Linc was just scaring him a little.
    b. This was a good time to get him to talk.
    c. It wasn't fair, Frank would have confessed whether he did it or not.
    d. Linc should have let him fall.

18. The first animals the camera showed in the zoo were

    a. Seals
    b. Bears
    c. Giraffe
    d. Zebras
    e. Elephants

19. Who would you like to be like?

    a. The restaurant owner
    b. Hattie
    c. Frank
    d. The pawn shop man

20. Which of the following is the theme or central idea in the story?

    a. People who lend money are sometimes crooks.
    b. It's hard to make a living in the city.
    c. The man that workds in the zoo is in trouble.
    d. The heroes help a boy find his father.

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE (B)

21. List the characters that you think are important. Please put them in order from good to bad. (You don't need to fill all the spaces.)

Good ______________________________

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

Bad ______________________________

22. In a sentence or two tell what you think was the most important part.

23. Write the names of the products advertised in this show.

TELEVISION AROUSAL QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME____ AGE___________

We are interested in your ideas about this program. Circle the answer that you feel is the right one. You may ask for help if you do not understand anything.

1. Were the people
_____Not helpful
_____A little helpful
_____Very helpful

2. Was what you saw
_____Not violent
_____A little violent
_____Very violent

3. Was what you saw
_____Not cruel
_____A little cruel
_____Very cruel

4. Was what you saw
_____Not kind
_____A little kind
_____Very kind

5. Were the people
_____Not angry
_____A little angry
_____Very angry

6. Was what you saw
_____Not funny
_____A little funny
_____Very funny

7. Was what you saw
_____Not serious
_____A little serious
_____Very serious

8. Was what you saw
_____Not exciting
_____A little exciting
_____Very exciting

9. It is
_____Perfectly alright for people to be this way
_____Somewhat alright
_____Not right for people to be this way

TELEVISION AROUSAL QUESTIONNAIRE

10. Was what you saw
_____A very good thing to do
_____A pretty good thing to do
_____Not a good thing to do

11. It is
_____Very nice for people to act like this
_____Pretty nice
_____Not nice

12. What you saw was
_____A very good thing to watch
_____A pretty good thing to watch
_____Not a good thing to watch

13. What you saw was
_____A very funny thing to see
_____A pretty funny thing
_____Not funny

14. Was it
_____A wonderful show
_____A pretty good show
_____Not a good show

15. Does what you saw
_____Make you feel like laughing a lot
_____Make you feel like laughing a little
_____Not something to laugh about

16. Was what you saw a show like
_____You really like to see
_____You sometimes like to see
_____You don't like to see

17. What you saw was
_____Very much like real life
_____Pretty much like real life
_____Not like real life

18. Is this a show you would talk to your parents about?
_____Yes
_____Probably
_____Probably not
_____No

19. Would your parents like this show?
_____Yes
_____Probably
_____Probably not
_____No

TELEVISION ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME____AGE____________

We would like to know what TV programs mean to you. Here are some statements with three different ways of showing how one can feel about each statement. Circle the answer that comes closest to showing how you feel.

1. TV programs give me ideas on how to get away with something without getting caught.
_____Often
_____Sometimes
_____Never

2. I want to be like people on the program who do good things just because they want to.
_____Often
_____Sometimes
_____Never

3. I copy the things I see people doing on these kinds of shows.
_____Often
_____Sometimes
_____Never

4. When the bad guy gets a beating he deserves, I feel like getting even with people who have bothered me.
_____Often
_____Sometimes
_____Never

5. I learn from TV that people have problems and they are not really as bad as they seem to be.
_____Often
_____Sometimes
_____Never

6. The people I see in TV programs are just like the people I meet in real life.
_____Often
_____Sometimes
_____Never

7. When someone on the program attacks another person and isn't punished, I feel I can get away with it too.
_____Often
_____Sometimes
_____Never

8. I learn from TV how to do good things so that people will like me.
_____Often
_____Sometimes
_____Never

9. I get excited when I watch TV programs
_____Often
_____Sometimes
_____Never

10. TV programs show me how to get back at people when make me angry.
_____Often
_____Sometimes
_____Never

11. TV programs show me how to be helpful to people who are in trouble.
_____Often
_____Sometimes
_____Never

TELEVISION ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE

12. I am so involved in some programs that I can get carried away with the story.

_____Often
_____Sometimes
_____Never

13. Some characters like those in TV shows remind me of people who have made me mad.

_____Often
_____Sometimes
_____Never

14. Some TV stories remind me of good things that have happened to me.

_____Often
_____Sometimes
_____Never

15. I get upset when my favorite star is yelled at or threatened.

_____Often
_____Sometimes
_____Never

16. Some TV stories remind me of frustrating things that have happened to me.

_____Often
_____Sometimes
_____Never

17. The characters like those in TV shows remind me of people who have made me happy.

_____Often
_____Sometimes
_____Never

18. I feel like things that happen to the hero are really happening to me.

_____Often
_____Sometimes
_____Never

19. I find myself thinking that you can learn something from how bad guys do things on TV.

_____Often
_____Sometimes
_____Never

20. I am happy when my favorite star is winning.

_____Often
_____Sometimes
_____Never

21. I forget that characters on TV shows are just actors playing roles.

_____Often
_____Sometimes
_____Never

PROJECT I TEST FILMS

Minimal Violence

That Girl
Brady Bunch
Playing Nun
Room 222
Nanny and the Professor

Moderate Violence

Will Sonnett (Natural Way)
Will Sonnett (The Favor)
Rat Patrol (Truce Road)
Will Sonnett (The Hero)
Will Sonnett (A Grave)

Maximal Violence

Felony Squad (Deadly Junkman)
Felony Squad (Let Him Die)
Felony Squad (The Love Victim)
Combat (Entombed)
F.B.I.

YOUTHFUL OFFENDER INTERVIEW AND DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Television Viewing, Anti-Social Development, and Violent Behavior

Respondent's Name:________________________________ Inst. No:__________

DATE:__________ Sex:________ Age:________ DOB[1]:________ POB[2]:__________

Usual Address:____

Last Occupation:____

Marital Status: Single__ Mar__ Remar__ Sep/Div__ Wid__ Unk__

Religion: Prot__ Cath__ Jewish__ Muslim__ Other__ Bapt__ None__

Ethnic: White__ Black__ P/R__ Spanish__ Oriental__ Other__ Unk__

Current Legal Status:

Charges:________________________________ PreT[3]__ PreS[4]__ Sent__

Date of Crime:____________________

Date of Arrest:____________________

Date of Trial:____________________

Plea: Guilty__ Not Guilty__ Insanity__

Verdict: Guilty__ Not Guilty__ Insanity__

Sentence____

[1] Date of Birth
[2] Place of Birth
[3] Pretrial
[4] Presentence

YOUTHFUL OFFENDER INTERVIEW AND DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Criminal Record - Juvenile:

Total Arrests:__________ Convictions:__________

Years in institutions: Homes________ Correctional________

Years on Probation:____________________

Pattern of Offenses:	Arrests	Convictions
Crimes Against Persons		
Crimes Against Property		
Sex Crimes		
Drugs		
Weapons Offenses		
Truant		
Incorrigibility		
Miscellaneous		

Criminal Record - Adult:

Total Arrests:__________ Convictions:__________

Years in institutions:____________________

Years on Probation:____________________

Pattern of Offenses:	Arrests	Convictions
Crimes Against Persons		
Crimes Against Property		
Sex Crimes		
Drugs		
Weapons Offenses		
Miscellaneous		

YOUTHFUL OFFENDER INTERVIEW AND DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Automobile Driving and aggression ____________________

Patterns of aggression ____________________

in childhood ____________________

in adolescence ____________________

pugnacity ____________________

Need to defend self ____________________

Aggressive Persons in home: Sibs _____ Parents _____

Conscious Identification with aggressors ____________________

Reactions to insult or challenge ____________________

Erotization of Violence; Sadism ____________________

Bodily fears ____________________

Fantasies of Power ____________________

Fascination with Weapons ____________________

Self assessment of personal prowess ____________________

Ability to disengage from argument or confrontation ____________________

Developmental Influences:

Parental Configuration:	(Child 1-12)	Both	M	F	Foster	Inst
	(Adol 13-19)	Both	M	F	Foster	Inst
	(Adult 20-)	Both	M	F	Foster	Inst

Oridinate Position of Respondent

_____of_____children

_____brothers

_____sisters

Dominant Parental Influence	(Child)	Balanced	Mat	Pat
	(Adol)	Balanced	Mat	Pat
	(Adult)	Balanced	Mat	Pat

How Family Supported	(Child)	F	M	Fam Mem	Welf	Oth
	(Adol)	F	M	Fam Mem	Welf	Oth
	(Adult)	F	M	Fam Mem	Welf	Oth

YOUTHFUL OFFENDER INTERVIEW AND DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Family Income - Weekly	(Child)		Low	Moderate	High
	(Adol)		Low	Moderate	High
	(Adult)		Low	Moderate	High
Parental Warmth - Mother	(Child)	Low	Neut	Reject	Host
	(Adol)	Low	Neut	Reject	Host
	(Adult)	Low	Neut	Reject	Host
Parental Warmth - Father	(Child)	Low	Neut	Reject	Host
	(Adol)	Low	Neut	Reject	Host
	(Adult)	Low	Neut	Reject	Host
Degree of Criminality in Env.	(Child)		Low	Moderate	High
	(Adol)		Low	Moderate	High
	(Adult)		Low	Moderate	High
Subjects Gang Activity	(Child)		Low	Moderate	High
	(Adol)		Low	Moderate	High
	(Adult)		Low	Moderate	High
Criminality in Family Members	(Child)		None	Minor	Major
	(Adol)		None	Minor	Major
	(Adult)		None	Minor	Major

Education:

Highest Grade Completed________________
Attendance Record: Excl___Good___Mod___Poor___Chronic Truant___
Academic Achievements: Good___Average___Poor___Failing___
Disciplinary Problmes: Not Present___Mild___Moderate___Marked___
Type of educ. program: ColPrep___Voc___Remedial___Discip___
Parental Supervision: Good___Mod___Poor___None___

Employment:

Number of jobs held:____________________
Description of Prevailing Job:____
Salary earned (per year)________________________
History of unemployment____________________________Why?____________________
Average length of time jobs held:_________________
Pre cause of term: Other job oppor. Moves Fired Quit Incar Other
Future Plans: Imp stat via train___Imp stat via other means___
Ret to same stat___No Plan___
Appropriateness of Future Plans: App___Below Potential___
Inapp/not comm with ability___

YOUTHFUL OFFENDER INTERVIEW AND DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Military Status:

Current Status: No history___I-Y___IV-F___I-A___Etc___
Active___Inactive___
Branch:_______________Lt of Serv________Highest rate_______At disc______
Type of Discharge: Hone___Gen___Med___Undesirable___Dishonorable___

Marital Status:

Status: Single___Married___Common-Law___Separated___Divorced___
Number of previous marriage/common-law:______________________
Number of children born:_____________
How children sup: Both___M___F___Other Fam Mem___ Welf___ Inst.___
With whom child live: Both___M___F___Other Fam Mem___Welf___Inst.___
Rater's est deg of sub's assumption responsibility: High___Some___None___

If married:

Degree of Compatability: Low Moderate High
Degree of Verbal Abusiveness: Low Moderate High
Degree of Physical Abusiveness: Low Moderate High

Sexual History:

Rater's est impair in early psychosexual dev: None Mild Mod Marked
Highest lev of adol sex adjust: Good Fair Poor Inadequate
Highest lev of adult sex adjust: Good Fair Poor Inadequate
Spec other abnorm sex beh: None___Exhibit___Voyeur___Fetish___
Masochis___Sadistic___Transvest___
Rater's est of deg of homo involvement: None___Slight___Moderate___Marked___
Role - Consensual: Pass/Fem___Dominant___Varies___
Forced: Aggressor___Victim___Varies___
Est of stab homo liaisons: Ver___Moderate___Slight___None___
Circumstance homo behavior: On street___Inst___Both___

Religion:

Religious preference____________________________Since when:______________
History of conversions: Present________Not Present___________
Age of Conversion:_____________
Rater's est of cur religious involve: Deep___Mod___Low___None___
Hist of known period of preocc with Supernatural Phen: Pres___None___

YOUTHFUL OFFENDER INTERVIEW AND DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Subject's Medical History:

Rater's est of sub's past physical health: Excl___ Good___ Mod___ Poor___

Types of illness requiring med manage: Cardiovascular___ Neurolog___
Metabolic___ Muscular-Skelet___
Gastrointestinal___ Respir___
Malignancy___ VD___

Number of hospitalizations:____________
Total Duration:________________________
Time since last hospitalization:____________

Rater's est of sub's past mental health: Excl___ Good___ Mod___ Poor___
Number of previous hospitalizations:__________________
Average length of stay:_____________
Total duration:______________________

Role of CNS Infection: Unk___ None___ Slight___ Mod___ Marked___
Toxins: Unk___ None___ Slight___ Mod___ Marked___
Metabolic Dis: Unk___ None___ Slight___ Mod___ Marked___
Cerebrovascular: Unk___ None___ Slight___ Mod___ Marked___

Role of CNS Trauma: Unk___ None___ Slight___ Mod___ Marked___
Birth Injury: Unk___ None___ Slight___ Mod___ Marked___
Closed Head Injury: Unk___ None___ Slight___ Mod___ Marked___
Open Head Injury: Unk___ None___ Slight___ Mod___ Marked___

History of past injuries inflicted by others requiring medical manage:

	Number of Times		Seriousness	
Type of Injury:	Juvenile	Adult	Mod	Severe
Fist fights				
Rape				
Blunt Instruments				
Knives/Pene Instruments				
Gunshots				
Poisoning				
Drugs				
Strangulation				
Fire				

YOUTHFUL OFFENDER INTERVIEW AND DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

History of Past Injuries (Self-Inflicted)

	Number of Times		Seriousness		
Type of Injury:	Juvenile	Adult	Slt	Mod	Severe
Drugs					
Poison					
Gas					
Cutting					
Hanging					
Jumping					
Firearms					
Burning					

History of Injuries Inflicted on Others:

	Number of Times		Seriousness			Place		
Type of Injury:	Juvenile	Adult	Slt	Mod	Mark	Jl	Hp	St
Fist fights								
Rape								
Blunt Instruments								
Knives/Pene Instruments								
Gunshots								
Poisoning								
Drugs								
Strangulation								
Fire								

YOUTHFUL OFFENDER INTERVIEW AND DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Drug and Alcohol Use pattern		Cough Med w/Codeine	Sniffing Vol.Liq.	Marijuana	Hallucinogens	Tranquilizers	Oral Psycho Depress.	Oral Psycho Stim.	*IV Depress	*IV Stim:Meth.	Cocaine	Heroin	Opium	Methadone	Alcohol	Other
Age First Used																
Age Depend. Est.																
Age Stop Reg. Use																
Deg Soc Imp-	None															
	Slt															
	Mod															
	Mark															
Deg to which crim while under influence	None															
	Slt															
	Mod															
	Mark															
Deg to which crim to support habit	None															
	Slt															
	Mod															
	Mark															

Comments:

*intravenous

YOUTHFUL OFFENDER INTERVIEW AND DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Recreation and Leisure Time Activities:

Rater's est of time spent in active participation in leisure activities (i.e., reading, arts, crafts, hobbies, athletics) High Mod Low None

Rater's est of time spent in inactive leisure activities (i.e., spectator sports, art and music appreication, movies) High Mod Low None

Pattern of sub's relationship to others in leisure activities: Member Alone Indiscrim

Impairment due to mental illness: None Slight Mod Marked
Impairment due to physical illness: None Slight Mod Marked

Assessment of Dangerousness:

		None	Slight	Moderate	Marked
To self:					
To others -	Indiscrim:				
	Family:				
	Authority Fig.:				
	Male Adults:				
	Female Adults:				
	Male children:				
	Female children:				
To property	destruction:				
To theft of	property:				

YOUTHFUL OFFENDER INTERVIEW AND DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Television Habits:

Exposure - Quantitative:

Amount of television watching Comments:	(Child)	
	(Adol)	
	(Adult)	
Did he have television in home? Comments:	(Child)	
	(Adol)	
	(Adult)	
How many hours per day on school days? Comments:	(Child)	
	(Adol)	
	(Adult)	
Did he select programs? Comments:	(Child)	
	(Adol)	
	(Adult)	
Who selected programs usually? Comments:	(Child)	Y Sibs P Fr Authority
	(Adol)	Y Sibs P Fr Authority
	(Adult)	Y Sibs P Fr Authority
Was he required or forced to watch certain programs? Comments:	(Child)	
	(Adol)	
	(Adult)	
What kind and when?		
Was he prevented from watching certain programs? Comments:	(Child)	
	(Adol)	
	(Adult)	
What kind and when?		

YOUTHFUL OFFENDER INTERVIEW AND DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Content - Type Program:

	Never	Some	Often
Sports:			
Boxing	____	____	____
Wrestling	____	____	____
Football	____	____	____
Basketball	____	____	____
Track	____	____	____
Roller Derby	____	____	____
Auto Racing	____	____	____
Skiing	____	____	____
Golf	____	____	____
Tennis	____	____	____
Hockey	____	____	____
Variety:	____	____	____
Musical Programs:			
Rock	____	____	____
Classical	____	____	____
Country	____	____	____
Comedy:			
Family Situation	____	____	____
Stand-up Type	____	____	____
Medical Shows:	____	____	____
News Shows:	____	____	____
Documentaries:	____	____	____
Law and Order:			
Police	____	____	____
Lawyers	____	____	____
War Types:	____	____	____
Westerns:	____	____	____
Quiz:	____	____	____
Soap Operas:	____	____	____
Horror:	____	____	____
Science Fiction:	____	____	____

YOUTHFUL OFFENDER INTERVIEW AND DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

	Never	Some	Often
Cartoons:	____	____	____
Movies:	____	____	____

Type: ____________________

____

List three favorite shows: (Child) ____________________

____

____

Why? Brief Description: ____

____

____

List three favorite shows: (Adol) ____________________

____

____

Why? Brief Description: ____

____

____

List three favorite shows: (Adult) ____________________

____

____

Why? Brief Description: ____

____

____

YOUTHFUL OFFENDER INTERVIEW AND DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Audience:

With whom did he watch television?
(Child) Alone Sibs Par Friends
(Adol) Alone Sibs Par Friends
(Adult) Alone Sibs Par Friends

Did he discuss television programs? How often?
(Child) ____________________
(Adol) ____________________
(Adult) ____________________

What discussions did he have?
(Child) ____________________
____
(Adol) ____________________
____
(Adult) ____________________
____

Did he usually like the same programs as other viewers? ____________________
Comment:

What were the major differences of opinions? ____________________
____
____

Did he voluntarily watch programs he disliked?
Comment: ____________________

Commercials:

When did he first notice commercials? Comment:
(Child) ____________________
(Adol) ____________________
(Adult) ____________________

Did he feel put down or left out? Comment:
(Child) ____________________
(Adol) ____________________
(Adult) ____________________

Did he want things he saw? Comment:
(Child) ____________________
(Adol) ____________________
(Adult) ____________________

YOUTHFUL OFFENDER INTERVIEW AND DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Effects:

Which program helped him most? Sports Criminal Church Cartoons
Old Movies Westerns War

Did television change his thoughts? Comment ____________________

Did he find programs horrifying? Comment ____________________

What type? ____________________

Did he have trouble getting them out of his mind?
Comment ____________________

Did he dream about things he saw? How Often? ____________________

What? ____________________

Did he play act television roles or plots? When? ____________________

Which ones? ____________________

When? ____________________

Did he imitate television characters? ____________________

Which ones? ____________________

When? ____________________

What impressions did television leave with him about -

	Television	Movies
Love		
Sex		
Death		
Killings		
Drugs		
Doctors		
Lawyers		

YOUTHFUL OFFENDER INTERVIEW AND DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

	Television	Movies
Cops		
Prisons		
Blacks		
Whites		
Indians		
Political Figures		
Rich		
Poor		

Did he ever act out a crime he saw on television? When ______________________

Did it work? ____

Did he consciously commit a crime to get money for things he saw on television programs or commercials? Comment ______________________

Did he also see	movies?	None	Some	Many
	plays?	None	Some	Many
	sports?	None	Some	Many
	hear radio?	None	Some	Many
	read books?	None	Some	Many
	read magazines?	None	Some	Many
	see news programs?	None	Some	Many
	play records?	None	Some	Many

In his opinion, did any of the above influence him more than television?

Which ones? ____

What factors influenced his life of crime the most?

____

____

____

Did programs ever arouse him sexually? Comment____________________________

Did programs ever arouse his anger? Comment______________________________

What has he learned from television?

____

____

____

____

____

YOUTHFUL OFFENDER INTERVIEW AND DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Interviewer's Impressions:

Rater's estimate of degree of deviant behavior (With or without arrests, etc.) Low Moderate Marked

Evidence of Functional Etiological Factors in Mental Disorder:

Intra-familial Pathology: None Slt Mod Mark
Extra-familial/Cultural Pathology: None Slt Mod Mark

Mental Status Examination:

Attitude to Rater: Pos Neut Ambiv Neg Very Neg

Reliability of Information: Good Fair Poor Very Poor

Physical Appearance: Looks his age Older Younger

Apparent Physical Health: Very Good Good Fair Poor

Physical Deformity: None Slight Moderate Marked
Type ____________________________

Weight: Under Average Over Gain Losing

Height: Short Average Tall Very Tall

Dress and Grooming:
- Neat and Appropriate Slt Moderate Marked
- Unkempt Slt Moderate Marked
- Inappropriate Slt Moderate Marked
- Seductive Slt Moderate Marked

	None	Slight	Moderate	Marked
Motor Behavior:				
Retardation	____	____	____	____
Excitement	____	____	____	____
Tics	____	____	____	____
Posturing	____	____	____	____
General Attitude:				
Uncooperative	____	____	____	____
Suspicious	____	____	____	____
Withdrawn	____	____	____	____
Obsequious	____	____	____	____

YOUTHFUL OFFENDER INTERVIEW AND DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

	None	Slight	Moderate	Marked
Mood and Affect:				
Depression	____	____	____	____
Anxiety	____	____	____	____
Anger	____	____	____	____
Flatness	____	____	____	____
Inappropriate	____	____	____	____
Speech and Thought:				
Incoherence	____	____	____	____
Irrelevance	____	____	____	____
Circumstantial	____	____	____	____
Content of Thought:				
Grandiosity	____	____	____	____
Reference	____	____	____	____
Obsessions	____	____	____	____
Delusions	____	____	____	____
Perceptions:				
Hallucinations	____	____	____	____
Sensorium:				
Orientation Disturbance	____	____	____	____
Memory Disturbance	____	____	____	____
Intelligence Estimate:	Superior	Bright	Average	Border
Overall Severity of Illness:	None	Slight	Moderate	Marked

Diagnostic Impressions:____

____